MINUTES
OF THE
NEGOTIATION
OF
Monſr. Meſnager
AT THE
Court of *England*,
During the Four laſt Years of the Reign of her late Majeſty Q. ANNE.

Containing many Curious Particulars of thoſe TIMES.

Written by HIMSELF.

Done out of FRENCH.

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PUrpoſing here to write for private Remembrance, Memorials of ſome particular Secret Negotiations, which I have been employed in by the King's Command for ſome Years paſt; I deſign not to form it as an Hiſtory of my Life, which was led in a more private Capacity, or to put it into ſuch Shape as to appear publickly in the World.

AS I was for many Years honoured with being employed among Perſons of Figure, in Things appertaining to the Adminiſtration of State-Affairs, during the Reign of the late King, of glorious Memory; but more particularly thoſe for univerſal *Commerce*; IT gave me Acquaintance with the Buſineſs of *Europe* in general; and by the Aſſiſtance and Furtherance of my Friends, gave me many Opportunities *to be known to the King*; and as his Majeſty had the Goodneſs, on ſeveral Occaſions, to ſay ſome things in my Favour, it fired me with a Zeal for his Service, and that commendable Ambition of rendring myſelf uſeful in the Intereſt of my Country.

It was not a little my good Fortune, that I came frequently before the King with ſuch Papers and Writings, as having been furniſhed by his Majeſty's Directions, required to be ſigned by his own Hand; for by this means the King took more notice of me than uſual; and as his more ſecret Services ſometimes required Perſons particularly nominated by the Secretaries to be employed, I found that two or three

times

times his Majeſty called for me, to draw up ſome Schemes of publick Affairs, which he had digeſted in his own Thoughts; and which he was more capable of, than any Prince in the World; and as his Majeſty, in my reading them to him, would ſtop ſometimes, and muſe upon the Manner in which things were worded, he would ſometimes ſay, *this* or *that* might be better expreſs'd, and cauſe it to be altered as he himſelf was pleaſed to dictate; and ſometimes would ask if it were not better *ſo* or *ſo*, and oblige me to give my Judgment; in which I had often the good Fortune to have my Opinion pleaſe him better than his own.

Theſe Things made me attend often upon the King, and at length brought *his Majeſty* to call for me, upon Occaſions far different from the common Buſineſs of my Office; as particularly, about the Year 1706, the King having himſelf formed a Scheme for ſome Attempts upon the *Engliſh* Colony at *Jamaica*, he called me frequently to him to draw it up in Form. When it was, after ſeveral Alterations, brought to pleaſe him, he told me, he was extremely fond of that Deſign, and ask-

ed me, if I was willing to go to the King of *Spain* with it? I made his Majeſty ſenſible what an Honour I ſhould eſteem it, to be ſent to any Part of the World where his Service required. *I think*, ſays the King, *no body is ſo able to tell my Grandſon, the King of* Spain, *my Thoughts in all the Particulars, as you who have ſeen all the Alterations, Amendments, and Additions we have made, and known the Ground-plot of the whole.*

Accordingly I went to *Madrid*, and laid the Scheme before the King of *Spain*; but when he came to have it diſcourſed in his Council of State, they were ſo backward, ſo ignorant, conceived ſo ill of the Deſign, and raiſed ſo many Difficulties, that I was obliged to ſend his Majeſty Word, I thought the *Spaniſh Court* capable of doing nothing for themſelves. The King was exceedingly vexed that his Propoſals were not received with ſo much Readineſs as was expected, and called me home again, which I was very well pleaſed with; nothing being more diſagreeable to any Man, who has liv'd in *France*, and eſpecially at Court, than that ſtiff, haughty, uncon-

unconcerned Way, that the *Spaniards* do all their Buſineſs with.

This Project was in ſhort thus: The King propoſed to ſend fourteen Men of War of the Line to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, to attack the *Engliſh* Colony of *Jamaica*. His Majeſty's Meaſures were, that the Ships ſhould rendezvous at *Cadiz*, there to take in Proviſions, and as many *Spaniſh* Seamen as could be had there; from thence to proceed to the *Havana*. This the King ordered, becauſe it would amuſe the *Engliſh*, who would not imagine that the Deſign was ſo far out of the Way. The *Spaniards* made a Difficulty of every thing; they ſpent three Weeks in getting over the Method to prevent the *Spaniſh* Merchants going to *America* in our Ships without Licenſe, and would have had me gone back to *Paris* for the King's Hand, to an Engagement, that the *French* Ships ſhould carry no *European* Merchandizes with them; nay, they would have had the King's Men of War ſubmitted to be viſited by the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers. Then they ſcrupled admitting the Men of War into the Port of *Havana*, for fear, *I ſuppoſe*, of ſeizing it for the King of

France; as if when the King had given the King of *Spain* a Kingdom, he would have attempted to take ſome of it again from him.

Tired with this impertinent Slowneſs in their Proceedings, and with the unperforming Temper of the *Spaniards*, the King, as I ſaid, gave over the beſt Deſign that was ever laid of that kind, and which could not have failed to have anſwered the End, had no uncommon Diſaſter befallen it from the Elements; for as for the Enemies, there was no Fear of any Preparations they could make for it; becauſe there was no poſſibility of their having any notice of it.

The Ships, as I have ſaid, were to have their Rendezvous at *Cadiz*, and were to have Six Thouſand Men on Board of Regular Troops, to whom the *Spaniards* were to join Two Thouſand, with Twenty Tranſports; and the Rendezvous being at *Cadiz*, they were to ſail from thence to the *Havana*, becauſe it was his Majeſty's Opinion if they went to *Martinico*, or St. *Chriſtopher's*, the *Engliſh* would have notice of them, and would immediately

ately arm on all Hands, and be ready to oppoſe them; but as the *Havana* was a *Spaniſh* Port, between which and the *Engliſh* Iſlands, there was no Occaſion of Intelligence, it was the King's Opinion, that it was eaſy for the Fleet to lie there, and be joined by the other Ships which ſhould come from *Martinico*, &c. and the *Engliſh* to have no Knowledge of it, which was indeed very reaſonable: The King's Orders were then, that they ſhould ſend an Expreſs to the ſaid Colonies at *Martinico*, to join them with all the armed Sloops, or other Ships they had, and in a word, with all the Force they could raiſe, which, *as the King ſaid*, he expected ſhould be near 4000 Men more, with Ships and Sloops enough to carry them; without reckoning 3 Men of War which were there already; and as the King obſerved, he was ſatisfied, that the *Four Thouſand* Men from *Martinico* and St. *Chriſtopher*'s, would be much fitter for Service, than the *Six Thouſand* from *Europe*, for of them, his Majeſty ſaid, he ſhould always expect one half to be ſick.

With

With this Force, the King's Measures were, that they ſhould ſail from the *Havana* directly to *Barbadoes*, and come to an Anchor in the Road; from whence they were to alarm all the reſt of the *Engliſh* Iſlands, and by making Preparations to Land, they ſhould at leaſt prevent that any Force ſhould be ſent from thence to *Jamaica*, where the main Deſign was to land; after ſome time, the whole Army and half the Men of War ſhould ſail to *Jamaica*, which is all with a Trade Wind, and Sea Current, leaving 7 or 8 Men of War at *Barbadoes*, to keep them alarm'd; that there the Forces ſhould go directly on Shore, and attack the Forts at the *Point*, which there was no doubt, after a ſhort Battery, they would take Sword in Hand; after which the whole Iſland would be reduced of Courſe; beſides the Booty in Merchandizes and Negroes, which would be immenſe.

The King was ſo wrapt up in this Project, that it was no wonder if he was very much diſpleaſed at the *Spaniards* that they had not an equal Paſſion

Paſſion for it, when it was propoſed by me; and when I brought his Majeſty an Account of their Behaviour, he ſaid, *They are the moſt ſtupid Wiſe People in the World.* However, the King did not lay aſide his Project, though he left out the *Spaniards* in the Execution; and though he changed the Nature of the Attempt, and the Scene of Action, which was removed to *Nevis*, and *Antegoa*. There the Enterprize was ſome time after carried on with good Succeſs; and our Admiral landed, deſtroyed the former entirely, and plundered the latter; and beſides the other Booty made, and the Spoil done to the Enemy, our Men took as many Negroes from the *Engliſh*, as they ſold afterwards to the *Spaniards* for 400000 Pieces of Eight. *But this by the way.*

The King had now for many Years been embarked in a heavy War with almoſt all the reſt of *Europe*, in Defence of his great Grandſon King *Philip*'s Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Spain*; and though he had happily ſucceeded in the firſt Part, by the good Conduct of that perfect Politician, the Duke *de Harcourt*, and had brought not

not only the late King of *Spain* to concede the Crown by Teſtament, to the then Duke *de Anjou* at his Death; but had quietly placed him on the ſaid Throne: Yet his Majeſty found inſuperable Difficulties in the Proſecution of the War, which that Affair was neceſſarily attended with; and, *which was worſe*, Fortune, contrary to her long uſage, had faced about to his Majeſty's Enemies, and that to ſuch a Degree, that in the Space of two Years, his Forces ſuſtained three ſuch Shocks, or his Enemies gained three ſuch terrible Victories, as would have been ſufficient to have overthrown, even the *Roman Empire* it ſelf, in the Time of its moſt flouriſhing Circumſtances.

Theſe Advantages not only made the entering upon Meaſures for a Treaty of Peace more neceſſary to his Majeſty than before, but more difficult alſo; as the Enemy became thereby the more haughty and untractable; the *Engliſh* General the Duke of *M*———— was then newly made more haughty than before, by the Compliment, *for it was little more*, which was made him by the

the Emperor, of creating him a Prince of the Empire, by the Title of *Mindleheim*, a little Principality in the Claim of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, and which that General could not be ignorant, *though perhaps the Title put that Circumſtance from his Head*, muſt be rendered again at a Peace, whenever it ſhould come to be treated of again.

Some have ſaid, that the World ought to have ſeen that the *Duke of M———* had ſome Thoughts that this War was not to be ended at all by Treaty, but by Conqueſt, and that otherwiſe he could not have accepted an Honour ſo Temporary, as was ſure to expire at a Peace; but it would be as much too groſs for us to imagine, that he did not foreſee the latter, as it would that he ſhould be ſo weak to flatter himſelf with the former.

However it was, that Prince, *for ſo I muſt call him*, had ſuch an Aſcendant now over the Princes and States of the Confederacy, and who were at that time called, the *Grand Alliance*, that it was to no more Purpoſe to think of offering Conditions of Peace

to

to any, but through his Interpoſition, than it was to make any Offers to him, who ſeemed reſolved to put no end to the War, but by the Conqueſt of *Europe*.

The King, who ſaw with other Eyes than moſt Men, and who ſometimes knew the Tempers and Characters both of Men and Nations of Men, better than they knew their own; was always poſitive in this, that a Treaty ſhould commence without any Application to the *Duke of M*———: It was ſtrange to ſee all his great Men of a contrary Opinion, inſomuch, that one of them took upon him to ſay to the King, that it was impoſſible. *The King ſmiled, and ſaid nothing*; but it was eaſy for a Man of any Penetration to know it ſignified both Anger and Contempt; and the ſame Perſon, though of the firſt Rank, had the Mortification ſoon after to underſtand it better, when ſpeaking in common Diſcourſe of ſomething very eaſy to be done, but which he thought difficult, *Ouy*, ſaid the King, *il et impoſſible comme*, &c.—— It is as *impoſſible as treating without the Prince of Mindleheim*; after this, no

Man

Man offered to ſay there could be no Treaty without the *Duke of M*—— But every one wondred which Way ſuch a thing could be brought to paſs.

It was a little while after this, that, attending on *the King* upon ſome common Occaſion, his Majeſty called me to him, *Be here*, ſaid the King, *at 5 a Clock, I muſt ſet on Foot this impoſſible Nogotiation.* I bowed, and attended at the Time; and *His Majeſty* having ſent to ſee if I was in the Antichamber, I was no ſooner come in, but one of the Bed-chamber ſaid to me, *You are too happy, Sir*; while we *wait here all Day, and all Night, you are asked for before you come.* I underſtood his meaning, and finding Means to let his Majeſty know I was attending, I was immediately led into the King's Cloſet; *Come*, ſays the King, *I'll ſhew you how eaſy theſe impoſſible Things are to be done. I ſee I muſt do every thing my ſelf.* I was going to ſpeak, when the King putting into my Hand a Paper, *Read that over*, ſays his Majeſty, *and tell me your Opinion of thoſe impoſſible Things.* The Subſtance of theſe Papers contained ſeveral Rea-

ſonings upon the Means to bring the Allies to hearken to a Treaty of PEACE, and how to extricate the *French* Nation from ſo dangerous a War; and ſeveral Heads of Propoſals, as the Plan of a Treaty. When I had read them all over, the King asked me what I thought of them; I told his Majeſty, *I thought it would be a harder Matter to bring the Allies to enter into a Treaty at all, than to lay down a Plan to be treated on, or to make Propoſals for the Ground-work of a Treaty*; and reminded his Majeſty of the Repulſe they had given to the Offer made by the *Elector of Bavaria* two Years ago: *You are right*, ſaid the King; *but I have thought of a Method for that too.* I bowed, and return'd, *Your Majeſty is the Soul of all your Councils, none can pretend to give Meaſures like your ſelf:* Says the King, *I muſt have a truſty Perſon at the* Hague; *an able Man never wants Inſtruments; I think you ſhall be the Man,* Meſnager, *What ſay you? the Thought juſt now occurs to me.* Here the King paus'd as if he had expected my Anſwer, and after a little, he turned ſhort on me, *Does your Heart fail you?* ſays his Majeſty.

I was a little ſurprized, for I had nothing but Joy in my Thoughts on the Motion. *Not to attempt any thing*, SIR, returned I, *that your Majeſty commands, only doubtful of my Ability: I'll take the Hazard of that*, ſays the King: *Get yourſelf ready, and ſee me here to-morrow after Veſpers.* I attended accordingly, and the King had ready his Inſtructions written with his own Hand; they were the ſhorteſt that ever any Agent received on a Buſineſs of ſuch Importance, and contained no more than this:

'Place yourſelf at the *Hague* incognito.
'Acquaint yourſelf with Perſons as you ſee occaſion.
'Correſpond with Nobody but Myſelf.
'You know your Buſineſs.

I arrived at the *Hague* in five Days; took Lodgings in an *Engliſh* Houſe, and paſſed for ſome time as an *Hungarian*, belonging to the Princeſs *Ragotski*; here I made an Acquaintance or two, by whom I had ſome Intelligence of the real Cauſes why the Treaty of Peace was ſo oppoſed by

every Side, while indeed every one was willing enough to have entertained it, could they have made their private Advantages in the Treaty: This was that they were ſo jealous of one another for; every one knowing the Readineſs of *France* to make a Propoſal; that they kept Spies upon one another in every Court, to watch, if ſo much as a new Face did but appear: As the *Engliſh* had frequently expreſs'd their Uneaſineſs on that Account, ſo had the *Dutch* alternately to them; and it was not without great Menage, that an Underſtanding was preſerved between them.

This Jealouſy made it next to impoſſible for us to make any private Propoſal, and as impoſſible to have any publick Propoſal accepted. *For Example:* When it was offered in the Year 1706, by private Negotiations, it tended only to have the Parties fall upon one another with Jealouſies and Reproaches, and then purge themſelves again, by ſatisfying one another reciprocally, at the Expence of our Maſter. This they gave for a Reaſon to one another why, when the Duke of *Bavaria*, by his Majeſty's Command, wrote

wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and at the ſame time to the States Deputies, to invite them to a Treaty, they would not give ſo much as the Civility of an Anſwer to his Electoral Highneſs's Letter, till they firſt communicated the ſaid Letter to each other.

This mutual Jealouſy of the Allies, as it was no Teſtimony that either had any Opinion of the others Honeſty, ſo it was well known from whence it proceeded, eſpecially on the Part of the *Engliſh*, which Piece of Secret Hiſtory is well worthy to be remembred.

The *High-Treaſurer* in *England*, the ſame we call *Superintendant de Finances*, had long complain'd to the States-General, of their Deficiency in paying their Proportions of extraordinary Expences for the general Service of the War; particularly, ſuch as Proviſions and Tranſports for their Forces in *Spain*, where they carried on their Affairs heavily, and at an exorbitant Expence, which extended far beyond the Sums furniſhed by their Parliament for thoſe Services. This in *Eng-*

land they called *Exceedings*; and being diſcharged out of Money appointed for other Services, left the Treaſury in Debt every Year; which, it ſeems, he did not, *as in Duty their Treaſurers are bound*, lay annually before their *Parliament*, in order to have Proviſion made for it; but left it on the general Credit of their Finances, to be provided for ſome time or other, he knew not when; and in the mean time was very importuning with the States for Payment of their Share of thoſe Sums, and that even to ſome Uneaſineſs, and warm Expreſſions which paſs'd between them; particularly the States being preſs'd beyond meaſure for thoſe *Exceedings*, in regard to the War with *Spain*; anſwered flatly, that *they did already expend ſundry great Sums for the publick Good beyond what they thought their Quota; that if they were to be preſs'd beyond their Ability, they muſt put an end to the War upon the beſt Terms they could.* This, as it will come to be mentioned again, I remark, becauſe *Monſieur*—— our Agent for ſecret Service, then at *London*, often aſſured me afterwards, that *the Treaſurer* complain'd in his hearing, that the *Dutch* gave ſuch Anſwers

ſwers on all Occaſions when he demanded Juſtice on thoſe Accounts; and that there was no Remedy, but *England* muſt pay thoſe Sums, though it occaſioned a great Arrear of Debts beyond the Appointments for the Service.

Theſe were, it ſeems, the Debts which afterward grew very clamorous againſt the ſaid *Treaſurer*, and which, as we are told in *France*, were laid to the Charge of his Miſmanagement, and was made uſe of to cauſe him to be diſplaced from his Office. But this I know little of but by Report.

I found the Jealouſy abovesaid between the Allies, made them, as I have obſerved, very untractable; and it was long e're I brought myſelf to be in any Capacity to render the Service to the King which his Majeſty expected; however, by long Reſidence having gotten ſome Acquaintance among the Foreign Miniſters; I found *Monſieur Pettecum*, the Miniſter of *Holſtein*, a very penetrating Man; his Figure was too mean, to ſet up in the Name of his Maſter for

a *Mediator*; yet he was a Man of ſo much Addreſs, and ſtood ſo well with all the Miniſters of the Allies, and even with the States Deputies, that it was thought very reaſonable to hope for Succeſs from ſo prudent a Miniſter, if he might be brought to eſpouſe the preſent Caſe; and Ways and Means were ſoon found to effect that Part.

In a word, Monſieur *Pettecum* went to Mynheer *Heinſius*, and to ſeveral others, and managed with ſo much Addreſs, that he brought the States to give Conſent for the Marquis *de Torcy* and another, to come to the *Hague*, without Character, as Agents, to make Propoſals only to be taken *ad referendum* towards a Treaty.

Thus was ſet on foot the famous *Preliminaries* which were ſo much talked of in the World, and which being refuſed afterwards by the King of *France*, brought on the Treaty of *Ghertruydenburgh*.

Here my Negotiation ended, although I was after this employed in ſeveral Parts of that Treaty, where, a little while, they amuſed the World with

with ſtrange Things, and having done nothing at all, the War was renewed with as much Violence as ever.

I cannot but take notice, how, from the breaking of this Negotiation, that Providence, which for many Years had proſpered all the Attempts of the moſt Chriſtian King, till he was exalted to be the Chief of the Kings of the Earth, but had ſeem'd to turn againſt him for ſome time, and to favour his Majeſty's Enemies, turned now againſt the Confederates: eſpecially on the ſolemn Appeal to Heaven againſt them, by the *French* Plenipotentiaries, upon breaking up the Conferences of that Treaty; which Appeal in the King's Name is expreſs'd in emphatick Terms in the Letter ſent by our Plenipotentiaries to the Penſionary of *Holland*, at the breaking up of the Conferences of the Treaty of *Ghertruydenburg*; as follows.

" His Majeſty has long ſince de-
" clared, That, for the Sake of ſure
" and definitive Peace, he would grant
" ſuch Conditions as were in his
" Power to perform; but he will

" never promiſe that, which he knows
" is impoſſible for him to perform.
" If through the Injuſtice and Obſti-
" nacy of his Enemies, he is depri-
" ved of all Hopes of obtaining a
" Peace: Then placing his Confidence
" on the Providence of GOD, who
" can, when he thinks fit, humble
" thoſe who are puffed up with un-
" expected Proſperity, and who make
" no Account of the publick Calami-
" ties, and the Effuſion of *Chriſtian*
" Blood; he will leave it to the Judg-
" ment of all *Europe*, and even of
" the People of *England* and *Hol-*
" *land*, to find out the true Authors
" of the Continuance of ſuch a bloody
" War.

After this, I ſay, Heaven blaſted many of their Undertakings, and ſeemed to declare to them, that He would not again truſt them with the Honour or Opportunity of making the Peace of *Europe*; for it's certain, *had they ſeen it*, that then was the Criſis wherein the End, for which they pretended to carry on the War, was offered them by the King; and although, to juſtify the Omiſſion, they have in *odious*

Terms

Terms publiſhed, that the *French* Plenipotentiaries were not ſincerely inclined, or fully inſtructed to make the Peace; I can ſay of my own Knowledge, that the King was entirely deſirous and earneſt to have concluded the Peace, even almoſt upon their own Terms; that *unnatural Clauſe* of declaring War againſt his Grandſon of *Spain*, only excepted.

I remember this well by the following Circumſtance, that being by the King's Command, to attend his Majeſty with a Paper of further Inſtructions for the Plenipotentiaries, juſt before their final Concluſion, the King had received ſome Diſpatches from *Ghertruydenburgh* before I came, and was reading them very intently; upon my entring the Cloſet, and offering to put ſome Papers into his Hand, his Majeſty put them by, and ſaid, *It is too late now; the Affair is over; there is nothing to be done; it ſeems my Grandſon muſt not be King of* Spain, *and I muſt not be King of* France; and with this the King laid aſide what I had brought; a while after He entred into a ſhort Exclamation at the Obſti-

nacy

nacy of his Enemies, *Bon Dieu!* GOOD GOD! ſays the King, lifting up his Eyes, *will they not be content to have the King of* Spain *dethron'd, but will they have me to do it with my own Hands.*

From this time forward the War went on much better on the King's Part; Succeſſes flowed in upon him from ſeveral Parts, and the Confederates met with many Diſappointments: They made indeed two Campaigns in *Flanders*, in one whereof they ſpent the whole Summer with an Army of 120000 Men, and gained nothing but the little Town of *Bouchain*, while the *French* Troops broke into the flat Country on the Side of *Scluis*, and ravaged a great Extent of Land, even into the *Dutch* Frontiers beyond *Berghen-op-zoom*. Of the next Year I ſhall ſpeak more in its time; in *Spain*, though the Arch-Duke *Charles* had taken *Sarragoſſa*, and defeated Part of the *Spaniſh* and *French* Army near that City, in Proſecution of which Victory, they a ſecond time had driven King *Philip* from *Madrid*; yet the Scale of War turning, by the Juſtice of Heaven, the

Engliſh

Engliſh were firſt ſurrounded and taken at *Brihuga*, and the whole Imperial Army overthrown at the Battel of *Villa Vicioſa* by the Duke *de Vendoſme*; their left Wing was cut in Pieces, and their right being driven out of the Field, General *Starembergh* was forced to quit the whole Kingdom of *Arragon*, and was purſued till he took Sanctuary even within the Walls of *Barcelona*; *in a word*, he was driven out of all *Spain* in the Space of one Campaign, *Lerida*, *Balaguer*, and all the Frontier abandoned, and *Gironne* taken before their Faces.

At Sea, our Fleet was no leſs proſperous, in taking the Town of St. *Sebaſtian* in the *Braſils*, and the Port of *Rio Janiero*, where they burnt three *Portugueze* Men of War, brought off a Booty of 610000 *Cruiſadoes* in Gold, which was paid to ſave the Town from burning; beſides an infinite Treaſure in Goods; alſo they had ſeveral Succeſſes on the Frontiers of *Andaluſia* againſt the *Portugueſe*, and entirely defeated all the Meaſures of the *Germans* upon the *Rhine*,

By this time the Enemy was ſenſible of their Miſtake; and ſaw Reaſon to wiſh that they had accepted the Conditions that were offered to them the Year foregoing; nay, in *England*, a Nation where the common People have a Share in the Adminiſtration of Power, they warmly reſented this Omiſſion, according to what is ſaid before in the Letter to Mynheer *Heinſius*; (viz.) *That the King would leave it to the Judgment even of the People of* England *and* Holland, *to find out the true Authors of the Continuance of ſuch a bloody War.*

But theſe were ſmall things, compared to what we are to ſee tranſacted in *Great Britain*; and which will ſerve ſo far to finiſh the Reign of our Auguſt Monarch, as to leave it upon Record, that He was certainly, to the laſt, the moſt fortunate of all Princes that ever reign'd upon Earth.

This I cannot omit to leave upon Record, That into whoſe Hands ſoever theſe Memoirs of mine may fall, theſe Things teſtified by me, who had the Honour

Honour to converſe intimately with his Majeſty in the greateſt and moſt valuable Confidences, may obtain upon the Belief of thoſe, who would otherwiſe think that Fable has taken place in the Hiſtory of his Majeſty's Deeds.

To look back on the Calamities of the eight laſt Years, and ſee to what dreadful Extremities *France* was reduced, is the true Riſe from whence to take a View, as in Perſpective, of the glorious Succeſſes, and the exalted Pinnacle of Honour to which our invincible *Monarch* has ſince arrived: What better Step can we take to magnify the Mighty *LEWIS*, whoſe magnanimous Breaſt contained the only Heart that was not overwhelm'd with Deſpair! What was to be ſeen throughout the whole *French* Nation but Anxiety and Sorrow; the Nobility began to think of having their Eſtates taken from them, and their fine Palaces ravaged by the invincible Troops of *Great Britain*; the Prince of *Mindleheim* was expected at *Paris*; and that the Royal Palace of *Verſailles*, the Glory of the World, and the Pattern of an

inimitable Genius, ſhould be plundered by Prince *Eugene*, as was that of *Munick*; the Generals, the Colonels, and gallant Officers, who uſed to bear down all before them, expected now no more Conqueſts; and the invincible Troops of the King's Houſhold went into the Field, like Men going to Execution; as being fully aſſured now, not of certain Victory, but of certain Death; all the View we had, in ſeeing great and numerous Armies drawn together, was, to protect the Fate of our dear Country as long as we could; but we all looked upon *France*, as in the ſame Condition the *Roman* Empire was in under *Juſtinian*; that was ſinking under the cruel Invaſions of the barbarous Nations, and was only upheld for a little while by the Gallantry of their invincible Emperor, the ever fortunate *Juſtinian*.

When the Allies, at the Treaty of *Ghertruydenburgh*, impoſed inſupportable Hardſhips and Conditions, to the laſt Degree diſhonourable; there was ſcarce a Man to be ſeen, who did not ſecretly accept them in his Thoughts, wiſhing the King would give Peace to his

his People at any Price: How did we curſe the *Spaniſh* Nation, and that Ambition, which, to ſet up one Man upon a Throne, ſcarce worth poſſeſſing, had ruin'd the moſt flouriſhing Nation in the World. Never would the *French* have ſo willingly gone into the Field, as they would to have forced King *Philip* to have yielded *Spain* to the Enemy, at the King's Demand, if he had conſented to make that Demand, and the other had declined it. And ſo far were we from thinking it would be an unnatural Thing in the King, that People began, even with a kind of reſpectful Treaſon in their Expreſſions, to ſay, it was more unnatural for a King, who is the Political Father of his Country, to give it up for the Sake of one ſingle Relation. That true Patriots gave their Lives a Sacrifice to their Country's Good, but that our Country was given a Sacrifice, nay, the Glory of our King, and the King himſelf, for the Grandeur of one Man. We ſaw the Enemy on the Border of the Country, and ſhould our Army have had but one Defeat more, there had been nothing to hinder their paſſing the *Oyſe* into the Heart of *France*; every one trembled

trembled at the Thoughts of the approaching Campaign; never was *Paris* in ſuch a Fright, as when the News was brought that the Duke of *M*—— had paſſed the Lines: Every one thought he was advancing into *Picardie*, not thinking ſo great a General as he, would ſtill have ſpent more Time about Towns, when the Country to the Sea Coaſt lay open, and where, being Maſters of the Sea, they could be ſupplied with all Neceſſaries at Pleaſure: We thought ourſelves in the Extaſy of a Deliverance, when we heard he was ſet down before *Bouchain*; and that Town well beſtowed, when we found the Campaign wholly taken up with that Siege.

In the Time of the Treaty at the *Hague*, upon the firſt Appearance, were we not even then giving the Confederates *Chart Blanc?* Was not *Spain* and the *Indies* ſacrificed at one Blow? When the Kingdom of *Naples* was deny'd, did not the King come down to the poor Reſerve of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* for his Grandſon: and almoſt beg a little Kingdom for *King Philip*, that having been once great, he might have

have ſtill the Name of *King*, though poor and diſpoſſeſſed? And did not the Marquis *de Torcy* himſelf ſign thoſe *exorbitant Preliminaries*, by which ſo much was given up, that not only *Spain* would have been loſt, but even *France* itſelf very much reduced? Theſe were indeed but too juſt Tokens of the dangerous Circumſtances we thought our ſelves in.

But the King was wiſer than all his People; he alone foreſaw, *inſpired from Heaven*, that having done all a juſt Prince could do, Juſtice itſelf would appear in his Behalf, and that Sovereign Hand of Providence would reſent for his Majeſty the Inſolence of his Enemies; he therefore putting himſelf and Kingdoms upon that Providence, *as is ſaid before*, his Majeſty reſolved to refuſe the *Preliminaries*, and rather wait the Event of the War, *ſoit comme il ſoit*, Hap as Hap might; according to what is ſaid before in the Letter; placing his Confidence in the Providence of God, *who can, when he thinks fit, humble thoſe who are puff'd up with unexpected Proſperity.*

Till the King came to a final Reſolution in this nice Part of his Affair, *for it was a terrible Criſis for* France; I ſaw that his Majeſty appeared very uneaſy, anxious, and full of Care and Concern about the Event of Things: ſometimes expreſſing great Regret, that his *good Fortune* ſhould, *as it were*, forſake him at the End of his Days; that he ſhould live to ſee his Laurels fade, and that his Glory ſhould ſuffer ſo eminent an Eclipſe, as in ſuch a diſhonourable Peace muſt be his Caſe. The rude Manner with which the Enemy treated him, in the Perſon of his Miniſters, who were obliged to appear *incognito* under Reſtrictions, without Character, limited as to Time of Stay in the Country, and allowed to be there at all, but as an Act of Condeſcenſion: Theſe were hard Things in the Manner of the Treating, as well as the hard Terms of the Treaty itſelf; and altogether filled his Majeſty with Reſentment: He had been uſed to give the Law of Treaties, not to have the Law given him, and not to ſend Plenipotentiaries *incognito* to beg Conditions: All theſe Things, I ſay, made the King very chagrin,

chagrin, he eat little, ſlept little, looked ill, talked more to himſelf than to any about him, and appeared full of Uneaſineſs and Diſſatisfaction: But as ſoon as he had reſolved to refuſe the Thirty-ſeventh Article of the *Preliminaries*, and venture whatever ſhould be the Event; his Countenance immediately returned, he eat, ſlept, ſmiled, and I never ſaw him look better pleaſed in my Life.

I had little or no Concern in what immediately followed the breaking up the Treaty of *Preliminaries:* The Treaty of *Ghertruydenburgh* was a Winter Negotiation, for the Allies were too haughty to think of a Ceſſation of Arms; they were, *as the King ſaid*, puffed up with *unexpected Proſperity:* So the Campaign being over, it was carried on in the Depth of Winter, and it was only ſuppoſed to be a Treaty for the adjuſting of *one Article:* There was little or no Ceremony about it; all the World knows it broke up without coming to any Agreement, and that the War went on with more Vigor than ever: which is all I ſhall minute here concerning it.

The Campaign between theſe two Tranſactions had been ſtill unfortunate; *Douay*, *Tournay*, and *Mons* were loſt; and the Battel of *Malplaquet* was fought to the Diſadvantage of our Troops; but the Raſhneſs of the Enemy in attacking our Army in ſuch a Situation, coſt them ſo dear, that although they claimed the Ceremony of a Victory, the *eſſential Part* was due to his Majeſty, the Confederates having loſt 24000 Men on the Spot, and obtained nothing but the Honour of ſeeing our Troops tired with Slaughter, and retreat with the Loſs of leſs than 7000 Men: Neither got they one Foot of Ground by that bloody Action; for the Siege of *Mons*, they were in Condition to have undertaken before; and after all, they had the Satisfaction to ſee the *French* Army encamped again, in leſs than 20 Days, upon the very ſame Spot where they fought, ready to have accommodated the Allies with another Victory, at the ſame Price.

It was the Winter after this Battel, that the Treaty of *Ghertruydenburgh* was carried on; where the King again ſtruggled

ſtruggled hard to have put an End to the Calamities of *Europe*, but in vain; and *Heaven* being Eye-witneſs to the Sincerity of our Maſter, and to the Obſtinacy of his Enemies, *opened a Door* to the publick Tranquillity *another Way*; and of this I ſhall have room to record much, having had the Honour to be much entruſted with the moſt ſecret Negotiation, and the beſt managed Affair of its Kind, that perhaps was ever carried on in the World; in which his Majeſty ſhewed his moſt exquiſite Endowment, the Direction of every Part being his own, and being himſelf the Spring, and very Movement of the whole; to whoſe Councils, the Gentlemen we had to do with, were no Way equal: though it is true, that *when they came to take ſome of their Meaſures from our Monarch*, they became as much ſuperior to the reſt of the Allies, who neither by Force or Polity were ever able to break into their Meaſures, or turn them from thoſe Steps which they reſolved upon, from and in Concert with his Majeſty's Councils.

It was found about this Time, that there were ſome Uneaſineſſes in the

British Affairs, with reſpect to the ſeveral Intereſts of Perſons near the Queen; which tho' they had long lain ſmothered up in the Breaſt of ſome great Men, yet as they wanted only fit Occaſions to diſcover themſelves, ſo thoſe Occaſions frequently offered; of which I had an Opportunity, while I was in *England*, to ſee much, and inform myſelf of the reſt.

The Houſe of *C———ll* had for a long time been fortified by Alliances with the Nobility, and having thereby made itſelf ſtrong, had obtained ſo great a Share in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, that at this Time it was thought inſupportable by many others, as well in the Court as in the Army: The Duke of *M———* found himſelf at the Head not only of the Army of the Queen his Miſtreſs, but of the Armies of the whole Confederacy; and thereby he grew formidable at Home; his Dutcheſs *poſſeſſed the Queen*, having her Ear in all Things as entirely, as ſhe knew how at firſt to improve it wiſely: The *Duke* ſaw his four Daughters married to Noblemen, as well of the greateſt Fortunes, as of the

the greateſt Intereſt in the Kingdom: His two Brothers riſing under him, one as Lieutenant-General in the Queen's Armies, the other as an Admiral in the Fleet: The Earl of *Sunderland*, one of his Sons in Law, was Secretary of State, and the Lord *Ryalton* another, was Son to the chief Treaſurer: So that the whole Government, Military, Civil, and Marine, was in their Hands under the Queen.

While it was thus, by how much the more juſt they were to the Intereſt of their Miſtreſs, by ſo much the leſs Cauſe had we to think them Friends to *Europe*, or Benefactors to Mankind; becauſe, *though it is true*, they, in purſuing the War with extreme Ardor, were ſure to aggrandize their Miſtreſs, and make her Glory riſe beyond the Deſires, even of her Sex; yet as this was by continuing the Calamities of *Europe*, and ſhedding an infinite Ocean of Human and Chriſtian Blood; it was apparent they would rather recommend their Miſtreſs for a Heroine, than a Chriſtian.

The Queen herſelf had not much Hand in this, being the more eaſily perſuaded, that the War was neceſſary, by how much the more ſhe found it glorious to herſelf; and was daily ſurrounded with the Congratulations of her Courtiers, for one Victory or another; nay, perhaps, as is likely to be the Caſe there, as well as in other Places, ſometimes when no Victory was really gained.

" The Queen, ſpeaking of her Per-
" ſon, was a Princeſs full of many good
" Things: She was mild, peaceable,
" and merciful in her Diſpoſition, apt
" to believe every one that was about
" her faithful and honeſt, like herſelf;
" eaſily perſuaded to think, all they did
" was for her Advantage, and that they
" were better Judges of it than herſelf:
" This made it too often to be the
" Caſe, that ſhe put the ſame Confi-
" dence in the People ſhe employed,
" even when they acted quite contrary
" to what thoſe had done who had been
" in Truſt before them; the Conſe-
" quence of which was, that whatever
" was *done amiſs*, it was known that

" her Majeſty meant it well; and what-
" ever her Majeſty meant, many things
" were *done amiſs*. It was her parti-
" cular Fate to act the moſt Part of her
" Reign, in Concert with that Part who
" ſhe loved leaſt. Every one knows,
" that although *England* is the moſt di-
" vided People in the World, yet that
" they have but two Parties, by which
" the reſt are denominated, (*viz.*) the
" High-Church or *Tories*, and the Low-
" Church or *Whigs*. Some have na-
" med the Friends of the *Chevalier*
" *St. George* in *England*, called *Jaco-*
" *bites*, as a third Party; but as they all
" appear with the *Tories*, ſo neither do
" they deſire to leave the *Tories*, or
" the *Tories them*. As for the *Catho-*
" *licks*, they are ſo few, and ſo op-
" preſſed by either Party in their Turn,
" that Prudence directs them to ſit ſtill
" and look on, while the Diſorders of
" the Commonwealth encourages them
" to expect, that at one time or other,
" Heaven will make all the Parties ſub-
" ſervient, by their inteſtine Broils, to
" reſtore the true Religion of their An-
" ceſtors. *But this by the way*. I re-
" turn to the Queen's Perſon.

" It is no Diſreſpect to the Memory
" of her Majeſty, which I honour for
" a thou-

" a thouſand good Qualities, *to ſay*, that " Reaſons of State, or perhaps the In- " fluence of thoſe in whom ſhe truſted, " occaſioned that ſhe did not ſo much " act Nature in the Conduct of her pub- " lick Affairs, as ſhe did in moſt of the " other Parts of her Life; and tho' it is " true, that her Majeſty was the ſincereſt " Woman on Earth, yet was ſhe obliged " to reign by that Method of Admini- " ſtration which ſhe *did not naturally* " *love*, and oppoſe, or rather diſcounte- " nance, thoſe ſhe did: NOR was it " Want of Sincerity in *the Queen*, but " Neceſſity of State, which obliged her " to it. *To deſcend to Particulars:* " By Inclination, the Queen was with " the *High-Church*, or *Tory Party*; but " ſuch was the Folly and Raſhneſs of the " Heads of that Party in the Beginning " of her Reign, that they not only could " not avoid infinite Miſtakes and wrong " Steps when they were employed, *for* " *the Queen began her Reign with* " *them*; but they had not the Prudence " to behave when diſplaced, as if they " ever expected to be admitted again.

" THIS, their Enemies the *Whigs*, " failed not to improve to their Diſad- " vantage, and to provoke the beſt na- " tured Princeſs in the World ſo, that,

" *for*

" *for ſome time*, the Queen was very " well ſatisfied that ſhe ought to diſplace " them, and was even pleaſed with re- " flecting, how juſt ſhe had been to " herſelf, and to her People, in parting " with them: though this Satisfaction " did not continue to the End of her " Reign: *But to return to the Cha-* " *racter.*

" The Queen, *as above*, among her " many good Qualities, was a very " paſſionate Lover of the common " People, as generally they were *of* " *her Majeſty*; and ſhe was not eaſier " to be deceived by any Pretences, " than that of the *Safety and Proſpe-* " *rity* of the People: *In a word*, ſhe " was an excellent Princeſs, and wanted " nothing to place her among the Bleſ- " ſed, but that ſhe ſhould have been " brought into the Boſom of the *Ca-* " *tholick* Church, in which alone is " durable Felicity."

I note theſe Particulars in the Character of this Princeſs, rather as a neceſſary Introduction to what will happen in the Sequel of theſe Memoirs, than that I can give a perfect Character of *the Queen*, to whom we are but

but Strangers; and I may perhaps have Occaſion to touch the ſame again, as I proceed in thoſe Accounts.

This Temper of *the Queen* had ſome Share in the Changes which now were breaking out in her Court: The Party *which aimed at the Adminiſtration*, had gotten Ground for ſome time; partly thro' their own politick Management, and the Weakneſs of *the Queen*; and partly by ſome Inſtruments which they had the good Fortune to place near the *Quéen's* Perſon, by whom they failed not to inſinuate daily things diſadvantageous to the Miniſtry then in Place; yet more eſpecially agreeable to the *Queen's* Inclination; and this they did with ſuch Application and Succeſs, that it ſoon began to appear, that the Queen had not the ſame warm Side to the *Whigs*, which ſhe had before.

It is neceſſary to halt here, and go back to Perſons, who I muſt introduce, not into the *Queen's* Buſineſs only, but into her Confidence, for ſome time before any thing publick appeared; and by whoſe Arts the *Queen* was prevailed with, *happily for us in* France, to change her Notions of Things, and

to

to quit her Engagements with the *Whigs*, who were our *mortal Enemies*: After which, I ſhall the more eaſily bring on the Part I had to act in the Things which followed, and how all theſe Things, *Providence wiſely working*, concurred to reſtore the Glory of our Glorious and Immortal *LEWIS*, and to ſave *France* from Deſtruction.

The *Dutcheſs of M*——— was for ſome Years ſo much the Favourite of the *Queen*, that *ſhe was ſaid to rule* her who reigned: She was not only her neareſt Servant, but her Friend, her Companion, her Intimate; the Partner in all ſhe did, and in all ſhe enjoy'd; This Lady had, *as moſt Ladies have*, a principal Servant or Confident *under her*, who was in ſome Reſpects the ſame Favourite to the *Dutcheſs*, that the *Dutcheſs* was to the *Queen*. When I had an Account in *England*, how the *Dutcheſs* introduced this *Familiar* into the *Queen*'s Chamber, and not only brought her to be known to her Majeſty, but gave her particular Recommendation, praiſing her for her Addreſs, her Fidelity, and conſtituting her, as it were, her Second, not only in the common Services, bnt even in the Confi-

dence

dences of her Miſtreſs; I could not refrain calling to Mind the Fate of the *Queen Mother* of *France*, in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII. who introduced to the King her Son, her Favourite the *Biſhop of* Luçon, *afterwards the famous Cardinal* Richlieu; and who thenceforwards inſinuating himſelf into the King's Favour upon his own Foot, became the Prime Miniſter of that long Reign; but was no ſooner ſo exalted, than he became the moſt implacable Enemy and Perſecutor of his Benefactreſs; never ceaſing till he had obtained of the King, to baniſh her firſt from his Preſence, and after from his Kingdoms; refuſing either to give her the juſt Dowry which appertained to her as Queen; or to ſuffer her to return to his Kingdoms, even to the Day of her Death.

In like Manner, *this mean Perſon* being thus ſtept in, turn'd upon her Benefactreſs: She failed not to be ſoon laid hold of by a *ſubtler Agent*, of whom I am going to ſpeak, and by him to be made an Inſtrument to bring off the Queen from ſeveral Things, which the Perſons then in the Adminiſtration had in their Deſign, relating to the publick Affairs. And here it was that they

firſt began to find that their Influence in Matters began to abate; That the Queen who uſed implicitly to give up in what Meaſures were brought to her by the Hands of thoſe ſhe entruſted, and to yield wholly to their Advice; began now to heſitate, to enquire into Particulars, to diſlike, or decline giving her Conſent, and the like. And one Time it was obſerved, that when ſome Things were brought to her to ſign, relating to the carrying on the Preparations for the next Year; her Majeſty ſigned, but was obſerved to let fall ſome Tears; and taking a great Sigh ſaid, LORD! *When will this Spilling of Blood be at an End.*

NOTE, This I learned by Report, after my Coming to *England*, but I had it from ſuch Perſons of Honour, as merit to be believed; eſpecially the Things *I afterwards ſaw* there concurring ſo evidently therewith: When Things began thus to diſcover themſelves, it was not difficult to gueſs, *who had been ploughing with their Heifer*, (viz.) *ROBERT HARLEY* Eſq; a private Gentleman of *Welſh* Extract, (but grown popular by his having been a conſtant Member of their lower Houſe of

of Parliament, where he had many Followers, and had been ſeveral Times Speaker: This Man had alſo, by the like Recommendation of the High Treaſurer to the Queen, been made *Secretary of State*; in which Poſt, it ſcarce is to be doubted, but that finding he had obtained upon the Queen, whether by meer good Fortune, or by I know not what *Foibleſs* of the Queen's Judgment, too eaſie to be impoſed upon, or by a certain *Addreſs* peculiar to himſelf, we that know ſo little of that Nation can ill reſolve; I ſay, finding he had an Intereſt in the Queen, independent of the Treaſurer who brought him in, and who, at firſt, was exceeding fond of him; he ſoon played the ſame Game as the Female had attempted to do, and ſet himſelf to ruin their Intereſt, who had brought him in.

Having mentioned this Perſon, who, as above, I rank as a private Gentleman, but at my coming, I found to be Prime Miniſter in the *Britiſh* Court; I muſt ſtop a little to ſpeak of him, who has made ſo much Stir in the World, and whoſe Fate is not yet determined.

He

He is a Perſon of real great Capacities, general Knowledge, and polite Learning, a taking and very engaging Way of Converſation, and when one diſcourſes with him on indifferent Affairs, he ſpeaks moſt readily and clearly to every thing, having a vaſt Memory, and a very happy Elocution; he is affable and courteous, eaſy of Acceſs, and prevents all Ceremony by a Familiarity that is extremely obliging.

In publick Buſineſs only, he differs from himſelf; for there his Diſcourſe is always reſerved, communicating nothing, and allowing none to know the whole Event of what they are employed to do: His Exceſs of Caution makes Buſineſs hang on his Hands, and his Diſpatches were thereby always both ſlow and imperfect, and it is ſaid, he ſcarce ever ſent any Perſon abroad, though on Matters of the greateſt Importance, but that he left ſome of their Buſineſs to be ſent after them: The Fame of his Parts brought him into the greateſt Employments; but *when he was in*, it never failed to render him uneaſy to all that were either above or below him: He knew too much to take his Meaſures from any Man, and

it was ſaid, that it was the hardeſt thing in the World for any Man to take Meaſures from him: He has been thought by moſt People to deſign well in the main, but has taken ſuch exotick Meaſures to bring his good Deſigns to paſs, that his Good would be as fatal as other Peoples Evil: His being ſo abſolute in his own Meaſures, as to enter into no Freedoms with any, has been the Cauſe that he has broke with every Body firſt or laſt. When I came to *England*, his Character was very ſtrangely compounded of a Mixture of Good and Evil; no Man ſpoke well of him in the general, all applauded him in particular: He had many Virtues, and few perſonal Vices attended him: He had leſs Avarice than Ambition, a compleat Government of his Paſſions, and ſeemed to be perfectly void of Pride. As to Money, he ſtrove even to a Fault, to merit that Character given by a famous Author to his Predeceſſor, *viz. To be frugal of the Queen's Money, and laviſh of his own.* He had a Genius for the greateſt Undertakings, and a Courage equal to the boldeſt Attempts; an Inſtance of which was, the eſtabliſhing the Funds for the Debts unprovided for, and ſettling the *South-Sea Company*;

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the firſt even againſt the Wills of moſt of the Perſons to whom thoſe Debts were due, the laſt againſt the univerſal Diſlike of the whole Nation: Both which he reduced, and erected ſuch a Scheme both for aſcertaining a precarious Debt, and appointing an unpracticable Commerce, that in leſs than one Year, thoſe who were the greateſt Oppoſers of the firſt Steps in it, were the Men who bought up all the Stock; inſomuch that it was thought by ſome, that they oppoſed it at firſt rather becauſe they envied him the Succeſs of it, than that they did not think it the beſt Scheme of its Kind that ever was laid in that Nation. But his Courage has appeared ſince in two Things, which his worſt Enemies muſt acknowledge were extraordinary: *Firſt*, his making 12 Peers at once, when he was in ſome Exigence in the Adminiſtration of Affairs; a Step hardly ever ventured on by any Man before him: and *laſtly*, which is yet more than all the reſt, his going voluntarily to the *Baſtile*, (*the Tower*) and venturing himſelf to be tried for all thoſe Things, by thoſe very Men, among others, which have been known to be his hotteſt Oppoſers; when at the ſame time, others who

acted under him have fled, and not dared to ſtand the Trial: for there is, as I have learned in *England*, one Thing in the Trials of the Nobility, which, were it to be in any other Nation, would render their Caſe very unhappy, *viz.* That when they are obliged to ſubmit to publick Juſtice, and appear to plead for their Lives, it may happen that many of thoſe Men who give their Votes for their Life or Death, may be their profeſſed, declared Enemies; as alſo others, who may be depending upon the Sovereign for their Fortunes, by Places and Truſts. This is a juſt Objection, and is even allow'd in *England* itſelf, in the Caſe of any but Peers; where any common Juryman being challenged by the Perſon to be tried, for having declared himſelf his Enemy, the Exception ſhall be allowed: But, on the contrary, here the whole Houſe of Peers are Jurors, and are to give their Vote; nor have the Priſoners the Liberty to object, or challenge any of them: Likewiſe the Sovereign may make Lords, even out of the Priſoner's worſt Enemies, to add to the Number of thoſe who ſhall try him, and ſecure his being found guilty.

This

This however being the Conſtitution in *England*, he that ſeeks to be made a Peer, takes it with all thoſe Diſadvantages; and that alone, *were there nothing elſe to be ſaid*, takes off all Objection, and makes the Caſe JUST *as to him*. And indeed I think it may be ſaid, not only in this Perſon's Caſe, but almoſt in any other, that if all who may have profeſs'd their perſonal Animoſity, or who have been created Peers, while the Caſe may be depending, and all who are in Offices of Profit from the Sovereign; I ſay, if all theſe were to be ſet by, there would be little Hazard in any Man's being brought to Trial. But this is a Digreſſion.

The Lady who acted the other Part, *as is ſaid above*, has her Character in few Words, if I may ſet it down from thoſe who know her well, *viz.* That ſhe is haughty, ſubtle, revengeful: In a word, one, of whom thoſe ſhe ſerved ſpake much ill, and no Party much good: ſhe made her Fortune and the Fortune of her Family in the little time ſhe was in; and the moſt I could ſince hear of her was, that ſhe carried off a great deal of Money.

I muſt own when I came to *England*, I found her neceſſary to the Buſineſs I came to negotiate; nor was it her Fault, if ſome other Things which we had in our Commiſſion did not ſucceed. The *Abbe GAUTIER* found her very aſſiſting; and as we were not wanting to ſhew our Reſpect, ſo had ſhe been as well aſſiſted by the Perſon laſt ſpoken of as we expected, and had Reaſon to expect, we might have ſeen another End of our Negotiation than what we did.

I cannot omit that I have heard the Dutcheſs exceedingly blamed for her Conduct in the Caſe of this Lady, and this by *her own Party*, who alledged, that had ſhe kept up to the Queen, and come oftner to Court, not appeared diſguſted, and particularly not been abſent from the Queen at the laſt, this Lady could not have ſupplanted her: In this Caſe they ſay, THAT ſhe was not *Courtier enough*; THAT could ſhe have diſſembled her Reſentment, and not with too much Warmth have oppoſed the Queen in her Humour, eſpecially about the new Notions of Things, which,

which, *as I ſaid*, the Queen had then entertained, the Queen lov'd her ſo well, that ſhe would never have parted with her, and ſhe would have had Power enough to have perſuaded her Majeſty againſt all the Attempts that could have poſſibly been made to ſupplant and diſgrace her: Nay, after long Abſence, and even ſome Unkindneſſes between the Queen and her, it was ſaid, that the Queen at her Return from *Windſor* to St. *James's*, at the End of the Summer, 1711. called for the Dutcheſs, and that a friendly Lady ran to the Dutcheſs's Apartments, and told her of it, preſſing her to lay hold of the Opportunity, aſſuring her that ſhe might with but one ſoft Word, be as well with the Queen as ever, and overthrow all her Enemies at once: but that ſhe refuſed to go, tho' her Lodgings were on the ſame Floor with the Queen's, adding ſome very diſreſpectful Words of the Queen, and of her new Favourite; which being related to the Queen, put an End to all Manner of Affection between them, which continued to the laſt.

I do not ſet my Hand to the Particulars of this Relation, it being very

difficult for us in *France* to have an exact Account of ſuch ſecret Things Word for Word; but this I may ſet my Hand to, *viz.* that I received this Account from ſuch Perſons, as to whom I always ſaw Reaſon to give entire Credit. If the Fact is true, I leave it with this Remark, that I think the Dutcheſs ſhewed more Honeſty than Diſcretion.

Theſe Things are proper to theſe Memoirs, for this End and no other, *viz.* as they let us into a clear View of the firſt moving Springs of what followed in the State, and how all theſe Things tended at laſt to bring on that happy Negotiation, which *Europe* has Cauſe to rejoice in; but which *France* in particular commemorates, as being the Means of her Deliverance from inevitable Ruin and Deſtruction.

Not that I believe in the leaſt, we in *France* are under any perſonal Obligation for our Advantages to the primitive Deſigns of theſe Courtiers; their Deſign, it's evident, was the bare reſtoring themſelves to Places in the Adminiſtration, and to the Favour

Favour of the Queen; and could they have maintained themſelves and the War too, they would have done it gladly; but a Peace with *France* was abſolutely neceſſary to them, a War of Parties among the common People being what they foreſaw would inevitably fall upon them.

Upon this Foundation, when I came firſt to *England*, I found them under almoſt as abſolute a Neceſſity of Peace, *as we were in* France; and as we were not ſo weak as not to diſcover it, we found them weak enough alſo to acknowledge it; on this Account we concealed from them ſeveral Things which were in our Commiſſion; for why ſhould we deſire them to ask more than they were inclined to acquieſce in? Or what ſhould be thought of the King of *France*, to ſend over Agents ſo eager to ſettle a Peace, as to make Offers of more than would be asked?

But to return to the Queen, her Diſſatisfactions increaſing, the Jealouſies among the People increaſed alſo; and it began to be known, that the Miniſtry were not ſo well with

with the Queen as uſual; that there was a Breach between the Queen and the Dutcheſs; that Mr. *Harley* was every Day with the Queen, and ſometimes ſo long, as that the Mini-ſtry were not admitted for a long Time tho' they came on Buſineſs of Importance. It was obſerved alſo, that the D—— of *A*——, who about this Time diſcovered himſelf to be not ſo well with the Duke of *M*——— as before, was more frequent with the Queen and with Mr. *Harley* alſo, and *the like*; nor did the Agents of the *Tories* fail to ſpread theſe Things without Doors, as the Principals advanced within; letting the People know, that as their Intereſt increaſed with the Queen, ſo their Party increaſed in the Kingdom.

In this Manner Things went on, till all Matters being ready, and the Queen brought over to conſent, the *Coup de Grace* was given; by diſmiſſing the great Treaſurer at once *without the Favour of a hearing*; ſending him an Order by the Maſter of the Horſe, that he ſhould break *his Staff*; and with him fell the Adminiſtration of the *Whigs* for that Reign: The King muſt

be

be thought to have loſt all Concern for his own Glory and for the Intereſt of *France*, if on ſo favourable a Turn of Affairs in *England*, he had omitted to make himſelf be fully informed of the Particulars, or had forgot to cauſe them to be improved to the Advantage of his Kingdoms. NOW, *if ever*, there appeared a Scene for *France* to ſhew her Dexterity, and to cultivate the Glory of her Monarch upon the Diſorders and Confuſions of his Enemies.

His Majeſty, tho' in a State of War, was never without truſty Servants in *England*, who were vigilant upon every Occaſion to give him a true State of Things; nor did they fail upon this Occaſion to give the King a clear and full Deſcription of the new Breaches there, with the Cauſes of them, the Ends and Deſign of the Parties in them, and ſuch Obſervations thereon, as were ſuitable to his Majeſty's Affairs, and reſpecting the Advantages which might be made of them to our Caſe; at the ſame time ſolliciting earneſtly that his Majeſty would ſend over ſome proper Perſon to adviſe with, and to conſider of

Things

Things as Occaſion might offer to his Intereſt.

I had known for ſome Weeks, that they had in all their Letters mov'd the King to ſend over ſome Perſon to reſide *incognito*, to take Care of the Affairs of *France*, and I had ſome Apprehenſions that the King would command me upon that Service; *I ſay Apprehenſions*, becauſe as the Nations had open War, I might have been uſed ſcurvily enough at *London*, if it had appeared that I had acted in the publick Affairs without any Character: However, I knew my Fate, and that if the King commanded it, I muſt take my Hazard upon the Undertaking.

As I expected, ſo it was not long but the King calling me to him, ſhewed me the Letters he had from time to time received on this Affair, and told me, he had pitch'd upon me for that Service: *Who knows*, ſaid his Majeſty, *but you may have as good Succeſs there as you had in* Holland? Beſides, ſays the King, *I am of Opinion, Mr.* Harley *and his new Party may ſtand in as much Need of Peace as of Victory*; *and*

and that they may want me, as much as I want them.

I made no Heſitation as to the going to *England*, but told his Majeſty, I thought it was a much more difficult Negotiation than that in *Holland*, and begged I might more fully peruſe thoſe Letters again, and might make myſelf as much Maſter of the Caſe as I could, and of his Majeſty's Deſign in ſending me, before I went.

During theſe Diſcourſes, a Poſt from *Flanders* brought over an Expreſs, with an Account that the Change went on; that Mr. *Harley* ſtruck home; that he had fired the Queen againſt the late Managers to that Degree, that ſhe reſolved to go on; and in a word, that the Reſolution was taken to diſſolve the Parliament.

It is impoſſible for me to deſcribe the Tranſport of Joy the King was in upon reading that Part, (*viz.*) the diſſolving the Parliament; *Well*, ſays the King, if Monſieur *Harley DOES THAT, I ſhall ſay he is UNE HABILE HOMME*, (*Note*, we have no

no Word ſo natural in the *Engliſh* to expreſs the King's Meaning,) *and that he knows how to go through what he has undertaken: MESNAGER*, added the King, turning to me, *it is Time you were for* ENGLAND. I could not interpoſe for ſome Time, the King was ſo full of this News, and talked ſo faſt; ſometimes to himſelf, and ſometimes to me, and as I was going to ſpeak, the King bad me attend in an Hour; ſo I withdrew, and the King went to another Apartment; I underſtood afterwards, that his Majeſty went to *Madam de Maintenon*'s Lodgings, to give her Part in the News he had received, and perhaps to conſult with her, what Meaſures ſhould be taken in this important Juncture.

I attended at the Time, but the King put me off again, and at length told me, *I ſhould not go to* England *yet*; that he had diſpatched a Courier for the preſent, which would ſuffice; that he would wait a little, to ſee how Things went on, for he had reſerved me for *une Coup de éclat*; that he thought at firſt it might be needful to have ſome Meaſures taken

to

to puſh the new Diviſions in *England*, but he had ſome new Informations ſince I had ſeen him, and that *there was no need*, for that Things would go on there as well as he could deſire, and the new Miniſter would ſoon ſtand in Need of his Aſſiſtance; that Things were already carried ſo far, that there was no Poſſibility of an Accomodation, which was the Thing that at firſt there was ſome Apprehenſions of, and which it was known was in the Plan that Mr. *H*——— had laid, but that the Scabbard was now thrown away, and I ſhould ſoon hear farther.

I underſtood afterwards that Monſieur *T*——— had received Letters from ſome of the new Party in *England*, and that Mr. *H*——— had ſent over a private Agent to ſerve him in the ſame Capacity here, as I was to have ſerved at *London*. Whether the Perſon ſent was dup'd by our Miniſters, and was eaſy enough to have his Buſineſs pump'd out of him, by ſuch as were employed here to ſound and dive into his Deſigns, and obſerve every Step he took; *or*, *which is moſt likely*, that he had Orders to give

give us a Handle to take hold of, and to appear open and free, as if he did ſo through his own Weakneſs, that we might know ſomething that Way, which they could no other Way diſcloſe to us; *I ſay, which of theſe was the Caſe, I never yet could be fully inform'd:* But he ſoon gave us Room to underſtand, *that the new Managers in* England, when they were a little further entered into their Meaſures, would not be ſo backward as others had been to liſten to good Propoſals from *France* for a laſting Peace; that the *Whigs* were ſo obſtinate in oppoſing them in every Step, and diſputed the Ground ſo by Inches, that the new Miniſtry would not be ſorry that the War were well off of their Hands, that they might turn their whole Force to the reducing their Enemies at home, and that in the mean time, they had made ſome Advances towards it; by which any one who made juſt Obſervations, might ſee it was not only in their Deſign, but that the Neceſſity of their Circumſtances obliged them to it. That it was apparent they already took ſome Steps that Way, aud had Agents employed to prepare

their

their own Nation to expect it: That on all Occaſions they filled the Peoples Ears with the Tedioufneſs, Expenſiveneſs, and Bloodineſs of the War, laying before them the Proſpect of what Happineſs would accrue by a ſafe and laſting Peace: *Books* were daily publiſhed and encouraged, containing *Reaſons for putting an End to the War*; and letting the People into Notions, as if the former Managers were guilty of carrying on the War for their private Glory and Advantages; for aggrandizing the Family of *C———ll*, and for preſerving their Influence at Home, making them neceſſary to the Queen for the preſent, till at laſt they ſhould be too great for her to diſplace. They failed not to ſuggeſt, that *England* had not had fair Play in the Management of the War; that the former Managers had been impoſed upon, or had, contrary to their Duty to the Queen, ſuffered the Allies to impoſe upon her Majeſty in the Performance of Conditions and Proportions, as well of Forces, as Expences in carrying on the War: ſo that the Queen had been betrayed, and her Subjects burthened beyond Meaſure in all thoſe Things; and that now it was

Time, not only that the Treachery of theſe Things ſhould be diſcovered and detected, and the Perſons expoſed; but that really they were obliged to ſay, it was Time *to put an End to the War it ſelf*; for that theſe Things had run the Nation ſo far in Debt, and brought the raiſing the further needful Sums to be ſo difficult, that it was not poſſible, at leaſt without further Miſchiefs, *which in the End would be inſupportable*, to carry the War on any further.

Theſe Things work'd ſo well to our Minds in *France*, and were puſhed ſo effectually in *England*, that our Work ſeemed done to our Hand, and was partly the Reaſon why the King altered his Mind, as to ſending me to *England* at that Time. His Majeſty was too penetrating, not to know that theſe Meaſures would not fail to make way for his own; and had the People in *England* concerted with him, *as I muſt do them the Juſtice to ſay, they did not at firſt*, they could have done nothing more *a propo* to our Deſigns: Nay, it was more ſo than we expected in this, that it brought them in *England* into Circumſtances

cumſtances to ſeek that of our King, which of all other Things in the World his Majeſty was moſt anxious about, and which we ſtood in ſo much Neceſſity of, that, two Months before, the King would have given ſome Millions to have had it brought to paſs.

But as the King foreſaw now, that what he deſired ſo much, would ſoon be asked of him to grant, his Majeſty was too wiſe to puſh his Game too faſt; but reſolved to ſtand ſtill a while, and ſee what would be the Iſſue of theſe great Events. It is true, this obliged his Majeſty to run the Riſque of another Campaign; and ſome were very uneaſy at that Circumſtance, eſpecially when they heard, that notwithſtanding the great Progreſs made in the changing the publick Miniſters at home, the Duke of *M*——— was ſtill continued in the Command of the Army. Indeed the King himſelf had ſome Expectations, *whether founded on certain Intelligences, or in his Majeſty's own Conjectures*, that it would have been otherwiſe; and that when ſo many Mortifications had been put upon that great Perſon, *ſuch we muſt call him*, he would either voluntarily have

declined that Service; or the other would not have ventured ſo much upon his Generoſity, as not to have apprehended his Reſentments, in a Truſt of that Conſequence.

However, his Majeſty, who ſaw further into Things than any of us, and was never at a Loſs in his own Meaſures, *reſolved to venture*; and, as it appeared afterwards, his Judgment was good; for though a Campaign were to prove unſucceſsful, the Enemy could not rationally be ſuppoſed to penetrate farther than *Cambray*; and the Affairs of *England* plainly told him, that if they did *hold together* for one Campaign, they would certainly *break* before another; that either the Duke of *M*—— would not ſerve another Campaign, or that they would not truſt him: and ſo it proved.

As to the Affairs in the Field, they appeared in a better Poſture than we expected: The Army was numerous, and compoſed of the beſt Troops the whole Kingdom of *France* could produce: *The Houſhold* was filled up and finely cloathed, and made the beſt Appearance they had at any Time done ſince the fatal

fatal Battel of *Blenheim*; and as they took Poſt wiſely on the *Scheld*, to cover *Cambray* and *Arras* at the ſame time, the King ordered the Mareſchal *de Villars*, who commanded them, to avoid a Battel, *if poſſible*, and only to lie in ſuch a Poſture, as to cover thoſe two Cities, *viz. Cambray* and *Arras*, and that then the Duke of *M*—— might do his worſt.

The *Mareſchal* ſo well diſcharged himſelf of this Truſt, that he *not only* avoided fighting, but did effectually cover thoſe two Places; ſo that the Confederate Army, though much ſuperior, never could come near them, and were glad to finiſh what they call'd a *glorious Campaign*, with the Siege and taking of *Bouchain*; a little Place of ſmall Conſideration, and which we retook from them again the next Year, in half the Time they took it now.

As the King was not miſtaken in his venturing another Campaign; ſo neither was he miſtaken in his Calculation of the Affairs of *England*, and of the Advantage which he ſhould draw from them by waiting a little longer.

And here I muſt go back to the State of the Affairs in *England*, with reſpect to the *new Managers*, particularly as to their Intereſt in the Change, and to the Views they had before them at that Time. It is certain, that Mr. *H*———, after all the Machines he had ſet to work in forming this Turn at the Court, when he perſuaded the Queen to diſmiſs *the Treaſurer*, did not let her ſee, neither did he ſee himſelf, the Neceſſity there was for her to go ſo far, as ſhe afterwards found herſelf obliged to go. *For Example:* He let her believe, as indeed many other People believed, *viz.* that after the Treaſurer was out, and a few of his Creatures and Dependents, the reſt of the publick People would ſoon acquieſce, and be glad to come into her Majeſty's Meaſures, and ſo things might *go on* juſt as they did before; which was certainly the utmoſt of his firſt Scheme.

Indeed it was very rational to think, that People, who had good Poſts in the Government, and no Fortune of their own, ſhould have conſidered of it before they had thrown up all the Advantages they enjoyed; *but ſo it was*, as

ſoon as the Treaſurer was turned out, *the Whigs* who were at Court gave him a Meeting; *and there*, as it was ſaid, ſolemnly engaged to one another, that they would one and all ſtand hard and faſt together, and reſolve to accept of no Propoſals which contained any thing leſs than the reſtoring them all to their Poſts; and this they performed with ill Nature enough, the Chancellor, the Secretaries, and all the reſt, obliging the Queen to diſmiſs them all.

This, tho' indeed it did by no means alter the Meaſures of the new Managers in the main, *and only obliged them to make uſe of other Hands than they propoſed at firſt*; yet it was a great Diſappointment to Mr. *H*——, who, as he was not of the Opinion that the *Tories* were the propereſt Men to carry on the publick Buſineſs, ſo neither did he think they would come in *to ſo compleat a Rule of Management as he had intended:* for his Deſign was to have formed a middle Party of NEUTERS, that ſhould have acted by his Schemes, and under Direction, *as Wheels in a Watch*, perfectly paſſive, except *as wound up*, or *ſcrewed down* by the Engineer, *who was to be himſelf*; when therefore the *Whigs*

oppoſed him ſo warmly, he was driven to the Neceſſity of embracing the *Tory Party*, at the Hazard of being obliged to ſubmit in many Things to their Meaſures, inſtead of having them ſubmit *to his*; nor did he find the *Tories* at firſt ſo ready to fall in with him as he expected, at leaſt not upon general Terms of Subordination to his Meaſures. *On the contrary*, they offered different *Schemes* from what he had propoſed, raiſed Difficulties and Scruples againſt his *neutral Schemes*, which they called by a Word of their own, TRIMMING; and in that Caſe they judged much better than he did, *viz.* that by coming wholly into a *Tory Adminiſtration*, the whole Body of the *High-Church* would be entirely with them, who, in Conjunction with the Court, would be ſo much too ſtrong for the *Whigs*, as to leave them no room, *ſo much as to ſtruggle*; but that while they drove at a ſeparate and mix'd Intereſt, the *Tories* would come in but warily and ſlowly; and as the *Whigs* were immoveably fix'd againſt him, he would never be able to carry his Point.

It was however impoſſible to move him, who was ſo fond of his own Schemes,

Schemes, till the Courſe of Things brought it about by halves, and by a kind of Force upon him. This Obſtinacy was the Ruin of all his Deſigns, and of his Party too, and will at laſt, if I miſtake not, bring him and his Friends to fall into the Hands of their implacable Enemies the *Whigs:* When he found the *Tories* thus ſtiff and backward, he ſtopped his Hand, and tried by the *Queen* her ſelf, to bring over ſome of the *Whig* Lords to come in: The Queen aſſured them, and ſpoke at that Time with great Sincerity, that ſhe intended no further Alterations; that ſhe deſigned no Change of Meaſures, and *above all,* ſhe proteſted that ſhe had not the leaſt Thought of altering the Succeſſion: Some of the *Whig* Lords were irritated on another Account, and ſeemed to give too poſitive a Denial; but the moſt politick liſtened to the Propoſal, and offered to come into the Meaſures, on but two Conditions, (*viz*) *That they would not diſſolve the Parliament,* and 2. *That Mr.* H—— *might be laid aſide.* The laſt of theſe the Queen would not hear of, and the firſt Mr *H*——— could not be perſwaded to; and this Step was the Foundation of all that followed.

And

And now Mr. *H*—— was caſt entirely upon the *Tories*, and yet ſo impoſſible it is for politick Men to part with their own *Schemes*, that he never ſo entirely came into them, as to take *their Meaſures wholly*; nor did they ever come in ſo far to him, as to believe him *entirely their Friend*; and this mutual Diſtruſt and Diſlike drove hundreds from him, increaſed his Oppoſers, and divided the whole Party.

At the preſent however Mr. *H*——, being the Spring of the Adminiſtration, went on his own Way; and the *Whigs* having refuſed to act, he took in the Earl of *Rocheſter*: This was a Step which alarmed the *Whigs* very much, and they might from that Time be ſure they ſhould have no more Applications made to them; and indeed they acted from that Time as Men who were neither to give or to take Quarter. The Earl of *Rocheſter* was a Man, who, of all Men in the Intereſt of the *Tories*, was really the moſt capable of a high Station without Danger of Miſcarriage; and that having been once *Treaſurer* in the Reign of *King James*, was fully acquainted with the Buſineſs; a Perſon

capable

capable of great Things, a Man of Council and of Diſpatch, a moſt punctual Obſerver of his Word, and free from the ordinary, *I had almoſt ſaid*, neceſſary Qualification of a Courtier, (*viz.*) *Diſſimulation*: But as this Sincerity was his peculiar, ſo it brought with it this Conſequence, that to whom he was a Friend, he was ſo openly; and to whom he was an Enemy, he was ſo with the ſame Openneſs and without Diſguiſe. This had led him to ſome Inconveniencies in the former Years of the Queen's Reign, and made ſome little *demeles* between the Queen and himſelf, to whom he was perſonally related, being what we call in *France*, *une de ſes Parents*, for her Majeſty was the Daughter of his younger Siſter: His Freedom and Plainneſs had been ill taken, and he had withdrawn from Court for ſome Time; yet his Appearance on all Occaſions in the Houſe of Parliament, added continually to his Reputation, and cauſed him to be a Leader of many; he was eſteemed hot, and indeed fierce againſt the *Whiggiſh* Councils, but always courteouſly and handſomely familiar with their Perſons, yet never ſo, but that they might know he was not in their Intereſt; he had a

true

true Notion of the Strength of the contending Parties in *England*, and appeared more chargin in his Diſcourſes on that Head, *that the few ſhould guide the many*, than at any other Part of the Management: He was in Years, yet had a perfect uſe of all the Endowments of Mind, which Nature had beſtowed on him; he had a vaſt Stock of Knowledge, and a Memory retentive of all that ever was committed to it; he kept his Head continually exerciſed on the Adminiſtration, tho' he had no Hand in it; and could tell the Miniſters the Hiſtory of their Conduct ſomething better than they knew it themſelves; and particularly he was Maſter of all their *Faux Pas*, or Miſtakes, and could lead them to the very Reaſons and Occaſions of thoſe Things. He was rigidly ſtrict in his Opinion as to the Legality of the *Britiſh* Settlement, and openly profeſs'd, that the Revolution had made ſuch a Breach in the Conſtitution, as would juſtify Revolutions of every Kind, how often ſoever they might happen; and that it was impoſſible, according to the Revolution Doctrine, *as it was then called*, that there could ever be any Rebellion in *Great Britain*.

It

It was the greateſt Trial of his Sincerity that could be, that the Queen, who was, as above, his near Relation, and for whom he had always a profound Reſpect; yet could never engage him to act heartily for her, becauſe he eſteemed her Reign an Uſurpation upon the Houſe of *Stuart*, and he failed not to let her know it in the plaineſt and openeſt Manner that became his Quality, tho' with the Decency alſo that became her Perſon.

It delivered us in *France* from ſome Anxieties about theſe Affairs, when we heard that Mr. *H*—— had taken this noble Perſon into the Management; for the King was very much concerned, leſt Mr. *H*—— ſhould put himſelf into worſe Hands: It muſt be acknowledged therefore, that had the Whigs been leſs averſe to Mr. *H*———, it would not have been ſo much to our Satisfaction; for unleſs they had been wholly laid aſide, we had nothing to expect from *England*; on the other Hand, neither would it have been for our preſent Purpoſe, if Mr. *H*——— ſhould have carried his Point without the vigorous Oppoſition of the Whigs;

for then it was very probable that the Miniſtry might have cajoled the People with the Notion of letting them ſee, that *notwithſtanding the Change*, Things run on in the ſame Channel, and perhaps might have made their Intereſt among the People, at the Expence of *France*; *I mean at the Expence of continuing the War*; and for this Reaſon, there could be no News more welcome to our Court, than that the Whigs having rejected the Propoſals made to them, the Chancellor was laid aſide, and the Earl of *Rocheſter* brought into the Council, of which he was ſoon after made *Preſident*.

On the other Hand, we received ſome Allay to our Satisfaction, when we were told by our Spies, that Mr. *H*——, at his treating with the Earl of *Rocheſter*, had ſhewed him all his Schemes, that he had approved them, declared for what they called moderate Meaſures, and promiſed to *give into* the Method propoſed, and to make no Breach in the Councils, on any private Opinion: When this was told the King, *his Majeſty ſmiled*, and ſaid, fear nothing from my Lord *Rocheſter*, I know him better than any of you, there could not be a

Man

Man in that Court, that will ſo well hold Mr. *H*—— to the Terms he makes; he muſt break no Conditions with the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and he will keep none with any Man elſe.

From this Introduction of this one Perſon, the King had a full Satisfaction, and often declared it, that not only the great Point of ending the War would be obtained, but that he ſhould one time or other have as effectual an Influence on the Affairs of *Britain* as ever, and by Conſequence be in a Condition to reſtore the baniſhed *Chevalier* by the Conſent of the *Britiſh Nation*.

Theſe were remote Proſpects, and ſuch as no Perſon was capable of forming Ideas of, *at ſo great a Diſtance*, but a King, whoſe Soul was equal to all the Labyrinths and Meanders in the Politicks of all the Nations round him, and who fixed in his View, and made preſent to him the rational Deductions that others thought themſelves very early in, if they formed the ſame ſeveral Years afterward.

There was but one Thing in which the King might be ſaid to fail as to his Judgment of the Conſequences of theſe Things,

Things, and that neither his Majeſty or all the Sages of the Earth could arrive to (*viz.*) that in a very few Months after this, and before any of the Product of theſe deep Councils could take Place, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, that truly great Man! was ſeized with an Apoplectick Fit, and died ſuddenly; to the great Regret of all who knew the Excellencies his Soul was furniſhed with, and how he was juſt at the Point of exerting himſelf in a moſt extaordinary Manner.

No Man in the World, upon Principles ſo generous and truly great, was capable of being equally ſenſible of the Loſs of this one Man, as was the King himſelf: *Rocheſter dead!* ſays the King, *then there is not a Man of Probity and Council equal to him, left in the World!* All his Majeſty's Meaſures were immediately changed upon this Incident, and then it was that the King called me to him the *ſecond time*, and bid me prepare my ſelf immediately to go to *England*, and asked me how ſoon I ſhould be ready. I told *his Majeſty*, I was always ready to execute his Commands; and if his Service required it, I would ſend for my Boots, and take Horſe at the Gate of *Verſailles* that very Hour: NO, ſays

ſays the King, *not in ſuch a Hurry*, but ſee me to-morrow, and you ſhall have further Inſtructions; which I did accordingly, and was then diſpatched to *England* for the firſt time. Perhaps to many in *France* it may not be known to this Day, that I was over in *England* at all upon this Occaſion; neither is there need to ſay any thing but this, that as the concealing my Buſineſs was of the utmoſt Importance, ſo unleſs the King told it, *and his Majeſty beſt knew to whom it was fit to be known*; it was not known by any by my Means, no not to my own Servants or Family, to whom I gave out that I was going to *Fountainbleau*, to direct ſome Additions which his Majeſty had ordered in the Apartments there.

I arrived at *London* the of 1710. taking all poſſible Meaſures for keeping myſelf entirely concealed, according to my Inſtructions; and therefore I placed myſelf for a while at a private Lodging remote from the Court, and kept out of the way of all general Appearances of the People, leſt I ſhould be known. At my coming to *England*, I firſt made it my Buſineſs to acquaint myſelf with ſuch Particulars of the

publick Tranſactions, as we had not the Detail of from our private Agents; and as I am minuting what I obſerved of the Earl of *Rocheſter*'s coming into the Adminiſtration, it is neceſſary to take notice, *as I go on*, that as ſoon as the *Whigs* had rejected the Queen's Offer, except on the Conditions above, which Conditions the Queen would not ſubmit to, and that the Earl of *Rocheſter* was conſulted, two Things followed, which, 'tis evident, were the Effects of his good Councils, *viz.* the *diſmiſſing* the *Chancellor*, and the diſſolving the *Parliament*; the laſt he was ſo poſitive in, that I was aſſured he would come into no Meaſures without it; and declared long before he came in, that nothing could be done without that Step was firſt taken: and as an Evidence of my being in the right in this gueſs, it is to be obſerved, that he was declared Lord Preſident of the Council in *England*, and the Proclamation for diſſolving the Parliament was reſolved on in *one and the ſame Day, viz.* the 21ſt of *Sept.* 1710. it is true the Proclamation was not publiſh'd till the 26th, but that alters not the Caſe.

The Wiſdom of this Council appear'd to us in *France* much clearer than it did

even

even to the *Tories* themſelves in *England*; and when the King heard that ſome of the new Managers were inclin'd to give up that Point to the *Whigs*, his Majeſty ſaid, That certainly they could not be ſo ignorant, after all the Teſtimonies they had given of their Penetration; for the *Whigs* having a Majority in the Parliament, would not fail to oppreſs them in the Adminiſtration, and bring the Queen to the Neceſſity of parting with them again, if not of giving them up to the Reſentment of their Enemies.

When I came to *England*, and to examine a little into theſe Things, I found that the Inclination to give up this Point to the *Whigs* proceeded chiefly from the Notion, which not Mr. *H*—— only, but even the Queen herſelf, had entertained, of carrying on what they then called *a moderate Adminiſtration*, and keeping ſeveral of the Heads of the *Whigs* in their Employment; but it was afterwards confeſs'd, that this Notion, *in the Queen eſpecially*, proceeded not from any Affection ſhe bore to the *Whigs* in particular; for ſhe had many Reaſons not to love them, or be pleaſed with their Management of her Affairs;

but from the Apprehenſions ſhe had upon her, of her not being able to get a Majority of others choſen in their room.

Mr. *H*——, who had Opinion enough of his own Conduct to have maſter'd theſe Apprehenſions, was willing enough to let it go there *at firſt*; but when the Earl of *Rocheſter* came to be conſulted, he laughed both at the Apprehenſions of one, and the Politicks of the other: He told the Queen, that as there was a Neceſſity of the Attempt on one hand, ſo there was no Danger of its miſcarrying on the other: That it was never known by him, ſince the Court came into a right Management, that they could not *have* a Parliament, or *make* a Parliament to their Purpoſe: That while the Clergy were all in her Intereſt, and it was in her Power to put all her Friends in Commiſſions of the Peace, of the Lieutenancy, and of the Receipt of the Revenues, ſhe could not fear being overpower'd in Elections. He let her Majeſty ſee in what manner every Prince, who had not carried the Elections to their Mind, had miſtaken; and that it was only for want of Money, or want of Management, that ever the Court and the

the Parliament failed to be all of a Piece: That he would anſwer for it with his Head, that if her Majeſty kept the Parliament on Foot, *which was then in Being*, ſhe would fail of her Deſign, ſee all her faithful Servants ruined, and be in no Poſture to protect them; and he would anſwer for it at the like Peril, that if ſhe diſſolved them, ſhe ſhould not fail of making a new Choice to her Mind. He convinced Mr. *H*——, that his courting the *Whigs* was the greateſt Miſtake imaginable; that he might ſee plainly they contemned it, and him the more for it, and made uſe of it to fortify their Party, and raiſe innumerable Scandals upon his Character; that he loſt Ground even with the *Whigs* themſelves by it, and at the ſame time kept the *Tories* at a Diſtance, and in Suſpence; ſo that they could not reſolve whether to join him, or not to join him; becauſe they could never reſolve whether he would be with them or no; that this halting between two would ruin them; that they ought to declare themſelves boldly and openly; their Friends would then depend upon them, and even their Enemies would own their Honeſty, at the ſame time

that they would ſee Reaſon to deſpair of breaking in upon their Meaſures.

Though it was impoſſible to remove Mr. *H*—— from that opiniative Value for his own Schemes, which he had been famous for, or to leave off that trimming, which has loſt him ſo much with both Parties; yet overcome with the Reaſon and Authority of the Preſident's arguing, *ſo I now call him*, he came into the Meaſures for diſſolving the Parliament, to the general Satisfaction of all the *Tories*, and more to the Satisfaction of our Nation, and of the King in particular; *as I have noted already*; for now his Majeſty was aſſured they would go through with the Work, and that the *Whigs* and new Miniſtry were placed at ſuch Diſtance and oppoſite Extremes as to Intereſt, that it would be impracticable to attempt any middle Way between them.

Nor were we deceived in theſe Meaſures at all; for as the new Elections came forward, the Animoſities increas'd, and it was with an inexpreſſible Pleaſure that we, who were *incognito* in every Corner, ſaw the Rabbles and Tumults among the common People, *which*

England,

England, *above all other Nations, is eminently known by*, carried on with all the Violence and Brutality that could be desir'd, even to the insulting one another upon the most ordinary Occasions.

The *English* common People, among the many good Qualities which some of them may possess, are a furious and brutal People, especially in their private Quarrels; and it would be the strangest Thing in the World, among polite Nations, to see such Things practised as are frequent among them in *Britain*. In their Discourses of publick Affairs, 'tis next to impossible to have any mix'd Company agree; and as they differ, they fail not to give all the abusive, unsufferable Words to one another that are to be thought of, and yet they do not call this a Quarrel: there would be more Blood shed in *London* in a Year, than was at the Battel of *Malplaquet*, were any other Nation in the World to quarrel as the *English* do. *Frenchmen* would draw their Swords, and pass through one another's Souls, at half the ill Treatment these give, even before they are said to begin to be angry. Were it in *Holland*, how many

Faces full of Scars would appear on the *Exchange?* How many ſlit Noſes, Fingers cut off, and the like ſcarrifying Work, would there be with their Knives on theſe Occaſions? But here, a foul Tongue has a full Liberty to abuſe every Man abſent or preſent; the Language of Rogue, Villain, Raſcal, *&c.* is reciprocal, and is both given and received without Reſentments: the higheſt Quality is not free from the Raillery and Inſults of the Coffee-houſes, and the Streets; and when I came to underſtand a little of the *Engliſh* Tongue, I was amazed to hear the great Lords of the Court, the Miniſters of State, and eſpecially Mr. *H*——, then High-Treaſurer, called Rogues, Villains, Thieves, *&c.* and the Friends of the Government, as well as thoſe of the former Treaſurer, damn'd and curs'd to Hell by the ſeveral Parties in their ordinary Diſcourſe, and in the common Companies in every Coffee-houſe; and yet no Quarrel all the while among the People who did ſo.

As this was the Way in Converſation, it made the Society of ſuch Men very odious, and we that were *Frenchmen* bleſſed ourſelves that we were

of

of a Nation accuſtomed to better Breeding, and where the Laws of Reaſon and good Manners had more prevailed to civilize the People and reſtrain their Paſſions: But if this was indeed ſtrange to us, who had been uſed to converſe among a Nation of politer Manners, the Behaviour of the Canaille was yet more brutal and even terrible: It is impoſſible to deſcribe the Fury and Terror of their Rabbles; were you to ſee two Armies of them march againſt one another in the Night, and in the Streets of *London*, armed with Clubs and Sticks, you would expect nothing leſs when they meet, than the killing ſeveral hundreds at the Shock; inſtead of which, you find it all iſſue in roaring and foul Language, ſhouting out the Names of the Heads of their Parties, throwing Dirt, and perhaps a few broken Heads, ſo they call it when any one bleeds; and then they part and go down other Streets, or return back ſhouting as if they had gained the moſt important Victory: If on theſe Occaſions they came to real fighting, it ſeldom or never amounted to more than ſeveral ſingle Fellows grappling together after the ſavage Way of that Iſland; in which they do

not

not uſe Weapons as other Nations always have done, ſince the Creation of the World; but fall upon one another; tearing, bruiſing, and battering one another with their Hands, Heads, and Feet, as wild Beaſts do with their Claws and Teeth, now ſtanding on their Feet, anon rouling in the Dirt; till covered with Blood and Mire, and rather wearied than wounded, they give over by Conſent, or are parted by their Fellows; and then perhaps, other Couples taking up the ſame Quarrels, and beginning always with a Shower of vile and provoking Language, fall on one another in the ſame Manner.

This was the frequent Practice in that Country, the moſt Part of the Time that I was among them; and though they are a Nation otherwiſe agreeable enough, and who by their Wealth and Luxury are arrived to a Way of living eaſy, and are in many Things a happy People; yet thoſe Exerciſes greatly expoſe them, and made their very Name my Averſion; ſo that I thought my ſelf more happy than ever, when I was returned to *France*, where Men live in a Manner much

much more agreeable to the Ends of Life, and the Temper and Conſtitution of reaſonable Creatures, enjoying a perfect Tranquility of Soul, in the moſt courteous, affable Converſation, and the undiſtinguiſhed Practice of mutual Civility.

But to return to my Story. The Elections of their Members, or Deputies of Parliament, were in their Height ſoon after my Arrival there; and as the Names of the Perſons choſen came to be known, the Court appeared a little chagrin, for that the Number of the Whigs, who were firſt choſen, ſeem'd to be very much beyond their Expectation; eſpecially in that the Whigs boaſted that their chief Strength lay in the Weſtern or Northern Part of the Iſland, particularly the Provinces or Shires of *Cornwall*, *Devon*, *Somerſet*, *Dorſet*, *Wilts*, &c. Places needleſs to name here, but which are generally called among them the *Weſt-Country*, tho' in Truth, they are ſituated in the *South-Weſt* Part of the Iſland; here they depended much on the Intereſt of the former Treaſurer the Earl of *Godolphin*, and ſome of his Dependencies, who had formerly ſecured that Part of the Country, much

in

in his Intereſt, being himſelf a Native of the Province of *Cornwal*, from whence they ſent up no leſs than 44 Deputies to the Parliament.

But I muſt do this Juſtice to Mr. *H——*, (*viz.*) that if he was not ſo reſolved at firſt in the Meaſures taken, *that is to ſay*, for the diſſolving the Parliament, yet he left no Stone unturned in the managing the Elections, after he was come into it; and that he did this ſo effectually, and with ſo much Judgment and Succeſs, that even the *Earl of Godolphin* loſt almoſt all the Elections in that, which was called *his own Country*: There was not a Town where his Intereſt was ſtrong, but he ſaw himſelf ſupplanted, and an Intereſt form'd to oppoſe and overthrow him; *the like Succeſs* was ſeen in other Parts; and in a word, it appeared that he had laid his Meaſures ſo true, and was ſerved ſo punctually, that at the ſumming up of the Numbers, the Whigs ſaw themſelves diſtanc'd, and out-numbered in a ſurprizing Manner, as to the Deputies of their lower Parliament: As to the upper Parliament, or upper Houſe, as they term it, he had his Eye ſo intent upon that alſo, was ſo vigilant in taking his Advantages, and ſo dextrous in improving

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ing them, that he carried his Point there alſo; as I ſhall note in its Place.

It is ſignificant to obſerve, how little theſe People differ from us in *France*, in the Effect of an abſolute Monarchy, after all the Boaſts they make of their Liberty, the Subordination of their Kings to the Sovereignty of the Laws, the ancient Rights of the People, which they call their Birthright, *&c.* ſeeing by the Power of Court Artifice, the Influence of Money, and the Management of ſubtle Stateſmen, the People are always made Tools to operate in their own Bondage; and to enthral themſelves, either to this, or that Party, or Prince, as effectually, as if the ſaid Prince had them under his abſolute Direction; nay, in this alſo, the Prince has the Advantage, (*viz.*) that this is done ſo by the Agency of the Miniſters, that the Tyranny is always charged upon them, and the Prince is not blamed; and if ever the Power of the Law gets an Interval to exert it ſelf, it is the Miniſter who bears the Reſentment, not the Sovereign; of whom no more is deſired, but to change Hands, and all things are quiet in a Moment: It's true that it has been otherwiſe, as in the Example of King *James*; but the Reaſon of all that

Difference

Difference lay in the impolitick Meaſures of the Prince, who eſpouſed his Miniſters to his own Ruin, and took the whole upon himſelf: But wiſe Princes in that Country have no more to do, but to let their Miniſters ſubject the Conſtitution to the abſolute Will of the Sovereign, by the inſenſible Degrees abovementioned, and the *Engliſh* are as eaſily made Slaves as other Nations; nay, they will make themſelves Slaves, for they will ſell and betray their own Liberties and Rights for Money; as they effectually do, who ſell their Votes in the Choice of the Deputies of Parliament: And it is moſt certain, that ſuch is the Blindneſs and Unconcernedneſs of the People of that obſtinate Nation, and ſo far are they from having any Notion of the Circumſtances of their Conſtitution, that whatever Miniſtry comes in play, and will wiſely diſpoſe ſuch Sums of Money as are neceſſary for the Work, they ſhall not want a Parliament to their Minds; who may give up to them all thoſe valuable Rights that a Nation can poſſeſs, who have the beſt Conſtitution in the World.

Upon the whole, the *Engliſh* are a Nation, who talk high of their Liberty, and of the Government being qualified

to

to make the Monarch great and the People happy; but are in Truth as eaſily enſlaved, and reduced to irretrievable Bondage, were they politickly managed, as any Nation in the World; and it is evident, had King *James* proceeded by due Gradations, and with moderate Management of that Power which he had aſſumed, and left the Article of the *Catholick Religion* out of his firſt Schemes; he might in a few Years have reverſed the whole Conſtitution of that Country, and have made himſelf, even by their own Conſent, as abſolute a Monarch, not as the King of *France* only, but as the *Grand Signior*, or the *Czar of Muſcovy*; and by this Method he might at laſt have planted the *Catholick Religion* there alſo, and have tranſplanted the Hereticks to what Part of the World he had pleaſed; but he precipitated himſelf into Ruin by that Weakneſs, which our *Auguſt Monarch* was never in Danger of: I mean, by being guided by the Clergy, rather than by the Soldiery; and ſetting up the Intereſt of the Church, before he had ſecured that of the State. This Obſervation is foreign to my Minutes of Fact, but is left here for my own Improvement on other Occaſions.

The

The Parliament being thus choſen, and being, happily for the new Miniſtry, made up of the greateſt Part of their own Friends, the reſt of their Work went on with the more Eaſe, and the Whigs began to ſee too late, that the Change would ſtand; which indeed they never could be perſuaded till now to think there was any Danger of; yet to do them Juſtice, they never gave it over, but offered the new Miniſtry all the Oppoſition, nay even to Inſult and Affront, that was poſſible; the not juſtly reſenting of which, was the weakeſt Step that the new Managers ever took, and ſhew'd either too great a Contempt of their Enemies, or to great a Security and Neglect of themſelves; both which are capital Errors in State Conduct, and in the End did them inexpreſſible Injury.

This is a Miſtake we never ſee made in *FRANCE*, where, from the Juſtice of the King, his Miniſters are protected from ſuch ſcurvy Uſage, and empowered to ſhew a quick Reſentment on every juſt Provocation; by which Means, evil Men are aw'd from taking the Liberty of inſulting Magiſtrates and great Officers of State, and the Authority of thoſe who are honoured by the King with

with the high Truſt of his publick Affairs, is duly ſupported; but in *England* it is not ſo. A *Valet* to any Man of Quality in *France* would not receive from any Citizen of *Paris*, that ill Uſage which the Men of the firſt Degree of Dignity on both Sides in *England* received every Day, while I was there, from the Mouths of the Citizens, and of the common People over that whole Kingdom; a Practice, which, as it ſeems to me to be a Peculiar to *England*, and not practiſed to that Degree in any other Nation, cannot be ſpoken of but as a Reproach to the whole Country, and muſt be an unaccountable Example of Neglect of themſelves in the Miniſtry at that Time, who were not without Means to have reſented it, at the Expence of the Perſons who were concerned; and I have heard ſince my Return to *France*, that they have been made very ſenſible of that Miſtake.

I take this Interval to give theſe Obſervations a Place, becauſe at this Time the publick Affairs received a great Interruption from an unhappy Accident which fell out ſoon after my arriving at *London*, *viz.* on the 19th of *March* $17\frac{19}{11}$, when by *une Scelerate Francois*, a *French* Miſcreant, the Count *Guiſcard*,

Monſieur *Harley*, who though he had placed himſelf in no other Station, than one of the Commiſſioners of the Finances or Treaſury, yet was the original Spring and firſt Mover in all theſe new Schemes, was aſſaſſinated and ſtabb'd into the Breaſt with a Penknife at the Council Board, where that Wretch was brought to be examined.

I ſhall minute nothing concerning this Caſe, which is made fully publick in *England:* But by this they may take Notice in *England*, how good Judges we are of Men in *France*; and believe they have Reaſon to be wary how they entertain any, who the wiſeſt Prince on Earth, *than whom none ever ſees farther into the Merit of Men*, has determin'd to be worthleſs, and not fit to be employed. Such was *Monſieur Guiſcard*, whoſe Name is deteſtable, and his Hiſtory not worth enquiring after; and of whom I need ſay no more than this, that being wounded in the Reſiſtance he made when he was ſeized upon by the Officers attending, he died in Priſon before he could be legally put into the Hands of the Executioner.

This added to the Length of Time, which, as I have obſerved, the King took to let the Changes in the Court of

England

England operate of themſelves; and tho' I acknowledge that I ſeveral times moved his Majeſty by Letters, and even importuned him, to make ſome Motion to the *Engliſh* Court, towards an Accommodation of the Broils of *Europe*; yet I always received this Anſwer from the King, *Pas encore! Guardez Vous! Not yet; have Patience*; which I mention, in Honour to the Judgment the King at a Diſtance made of Things, even ſo much better than I could, tho' upon the Spot.

For a little Time ſoon convinced me, that the *Engliſh* Court would, by the Animoſity of Parties, do the Work for us, and open a Door for that, which no other Incident could have brought to paſs; but it was my Wonder, that the King ſhould ſee it ſo long before me.

The Seaſon for Preparations was now, and the Seaſon for taking the Field approached; and I was very anxious about the next Campaign. The Duke of *M*— continued in the Command of the Army; whether it was the Queen's Kindneſs to, and Confidence in him, or the Diſſatisfaction and Diffidence it might have occaſioned among the Allies, I do not reſolve: But there ſeemed an irreconcilable Feud between him and the Duke of *A*——, a *Scotch* Nobleman of

riſing Fame, and as full of Ambition as of Merit.

The Duke of *A*——— in Birth and Blood was beneath no Man in that Queen's Court, and by his Gallantry in the Field, had obtained the Fame, not only of a Man perſonally brave, but of a very good Officer; he had too much of the *Scots-man* in him, to ſubmit to any Man more than he could not help; and too much Senſe, to be wanting to his Ambition: he had ſeveral ways, for ſome time paſt, let it be known, that he did not think himſelf well uſed by the Duke of *M*———; and it was not doubted but, upon the firſt Occaſion that offered, he would let it be known alſo that he knew how to reſent it: It began to be ſeen that on all Occaſions he was building upon the Ruins of his Rival; and having no other way to act at that Time, he joins in with a Party, who, on the very ſame Foundation of Diſguſt at the Duke of *M*——, moved to an Enquiry into the Conduct of the Affairs of the War in *Spain*.

It fell out very happily for *France*, that at the very Time when this Conteſt began, the Queen received Advice that the Duke *de Vendoſme*, at the Head of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Army, had ſurrounded

rounded the *Engliſh* Troops at *Briheuga*, and taken them all Priſoners of War, with their Generals *Stanhope*, *Carpenter*, *&c.* and had after this puſhed Count *Starembergh*, with the Army of the Arch-Duke *Charles*, to the Neceſſity of fighting at *Villa Vicoſa* in *Spain*, and had obtained a compleat Victory.

To reſtore this, the Queen appeared very vigorous, and the Parliament joining with it, warm Reſolves were taken on all Sides for the carrying on the War with VIGOR; a Phraſe the *Engliſh* had been very fond of, and the Clauſe was added thus, *eſpecially in* Spain.

Nothing could have been more *a propo* to his Majeſty's Intentions, who wou'd have been very glad to ſee the Weight of the War removed from *Flanders*, where it lay *too heavy indeed for all* France *to ſupport*; and to have it carried into *Spain*, where every 10000 Men the Confederates carried into the Field, muſt coſt them as much as 40000 Men in *Flanders*, and where they would ſoon have been weary of the War. Now we began to ſee that the King's Meaſures were juſt, and that his Majeſty had nothing to do, but to ſit ſtill and wait, while the *Engliſh*, by their Diviſions,

Breaches, and Quarrels, would do all this Work to his Hand.

This carrying on the War, *eſpecially in* Spain, became now the Party-Word in *England*. The Queen opened the new Parliament with a Speech, wherein ſhe has this Expreſſion: *The carrying on the War in all its Parts, but particularly in* Spain, *with the utmoſt Vigor, is the likelieſt Means, with God's Bleſſing, to procure a ſafe and honourable Peace.*

I had the Curioſity, as a Stranger, and *incognito*, to get in among the Crowd to their Parliament Houſe, when the Queen made this Speech; and nothing could be a more agreeable Surprize to me, than to hear thoſe Words: I knew this would do our Work at once, for we had nothing to fear on that Side; and indeed, as I learn'd ſince my Return, the Word was a Kind of Jeſt or Diverſion to all *France* for ſome Weeks.

Their Mirth was increaſed, when they had ſent them the Addreſs or Compliment, uſually returned by the Nobility to the Sovereign on ſuch Occaſions. The Words were eccho'd back to the Queen thus, *viz. We conceive it to be of the higheſt Importance to carry on the War with* VIGOR *in all its Parts, but eſpecially in* Spain.

When

When the King read this in a Letter wherein I ſent an Account, he laughed heartily, *Ouy, Meſſieurs*, ſays the King, *il et de tres grand Importance aux* France: Yes, Gentlemen, it will be of the higheſt Importance to *France*, if you pleaſe but to carry on the War, *eſpecially in* Spain. The Commons, or Deputies of the Lower Houſe, had the very ſame Words: *We ſhall ſtudy to carry on the War with Vigor, eſpecially in* Spain. All this was in *December*, and they ſoon found an Occaſion ſuitable; for on the 2d of *January*, the Queen received the News of the taking her Troops in *Briheuga*, and the Loſs of the Battel at *Villa Vicoſa*, mentioned above; all which News, as it was known in *France* before they had it in *England*, the King took care they ſhou'd hear of it as ſoon as poſſible.

Things going on thus agreeably for us, it is not to be wondered that the King, with all the Satisfaction imaginable, reſolved to wait the Event of another Campaign in *Flanders*; not forgetting at the ſame time to ſend expreſs Orders to the Duke *de Vendoſme*, to puſh the Enemy with all poſſible Vigor, which he failed not to do.

This Notion of *eſpecially in* Spain, as it was really in itſelf the moſt abſurd Thing, *ſpeaking as an* Engliſhman, which that Nation could have entered upon; ſo, on the other hand, *ſpeaking as a* Frenchman, it was the moſt opportune and ſeaſonable Folly that ever our Enemies could have been taken in; and nothing was more aſtoniſhing to us, than that it could be poſſible the *Engliſh* Miniſtry ſhould go voluntarily into ſuch a Snare. The King was ſo ſurprized, that he began to think it was the Effect of my ſecret Management in *England*, and ſaid to a certain Perſon of Quality, that had an Eſteem for me, that he had been very well ſerv'd in *England*; upon which that Perſon took Occaſion to felicitate me in very obliging Terms: But alas! I had no Claim to any of the Praiſe, nor had I ſo much as made any of my Acquaintance yet in *England*, much leſs begun any Negotiation: But all this was the Produce of perſonal Enmity at the Glory of the Duke of *M*———, and was laid as a Train to blow up his Intereſt at Court; but whether it anſwered their End in *England* or not, yet we have Reaſon to remember how well it anſwered ours in *France*, and how many

Ways

Ways it ſerved us here: And the King failed not to make his Advantage of it firſt. Tho' it did not much leſſen or weaken the Confederate Army in *Flanders*, nor remove the Duke from the Command; yet it leſſened his Intereſt in general; it diſpirited his Friends, turned many againſt him, and gave him leſs Eſteem, tho' not leſs Authority in the Army; likewiſe it was naturally the Occaſion of great Contention in their Parliament: The *Whigs* undertook to prove that the only Way to recover *Spain*, was to puſh the War on in *Flanders*, where they had the Superiority of Strength, and where they had made already ſuch Progreſs, as had been very threatning to *France* it ſelf, and where if the War was carried on with a little more Succeſs, they ſaid there was a Probability of penetrating *France*, and breaking thro' into the open Country, where at leaſt they ſhould live at the King of *France's* Expence; in which Caſe it was not to be doubted, but *Spain* would be given up to ſave *France*.

This was a ſad Truth to us, and we were very ſorry to find that any Men in *England* had ſo right a Notion of it; and here begun my firſt acting in the Intereſt

Intereſt of my Country; which I did, tho' with the greateſt Privacy, yet with no ſmall Succeſs; for getting the Knowledge of a certain capable Perſon, by means of a *French* Printer, and the Help of ſome Money rightly placed; I furniſhed ſome Arguments to ſet forth the Strength of the *French* Frontiers, the Impoſſibility of finiſhing the War by taking Towns one or two in a Year; and the certain lengthning out the War by that Method, till *England* ſhould be impoveriſhed, and the Trade ruined; and theſe with other Arguments being put together, the Perſon I ſpeak of formed very happily indeed, and publiſhed in Print; and ſuch was the Dexterity of this Author, that he put the ſame Arguments into ſeveral Forms, Printing now one Tract, then another. Theſe Books did us exceeding Service, and made a great Noiſe at that Time in *London*. But of this I ſhall make further Obſervations.

I muſt confeſs, however, that what the Whigs ſaid at that Time, of our Danger by the War in *Flanders*, was very true; Why elſe did we make ſo many Attempts to obtain a Treaty, and put an End to it, and offer that King *Philip* ſhould quit *Spain* and the *Indies*,

Indies, to obtain a Peace? But the other Party gave it a new Turn, they caſt it all back upon the Duke of *M*——— and his Friends, as if they were of that Opinion, only to juſtify their paſt Conduct, and aggrandize and enrich themſelves by the Command; and thus it became a Party Quarrel; in which it was evident, the Court ſupported the Duke of *A*——, on purpoſe to mortify the Duke of *M*——— and the Whigs.

This Quarrel was not only happy for us, but the Happineſs was increaſed by the Appearance we ſaw, that there was no Probability of its being cloſed; and that it might grow wider and wider, I applied my ſelf to my moſt ingenious Writer of Pamphlets: The great Thing I deſired of him now was, that he would publiſh ſomething if poſſible, for I acknowledge I could not procure one Word to aſſiſt in it, to prove to the People the Reaſonableneſs of puſhing the War on in *Spain*, rather than in *Flanders*.

Thoſe Writers of Pamphlets in *England*, are the beſt People of that Kind that are any where to be found; for they have ſo many Turns to impoſe upon their People, that nothing I have met with was ever like it; and the People of

England,

England, of all the People I have met with, are the fondeſt of ſuch Writings. My Writer had an excellent Talent, and Words enough, and was as well qualified to prove non-Entries to contain Subſtance, and Subſtance to be entirely Spirituous, as any one I have met with. I was no Judge of his Style, having but little of the Tongue; but as I kept him entirely private, I found the People always eager to read what he wrote, and frequently his Books were ſaid to be written by one great Lord, or one eminent Author or other; and this made them be more called for at the Bookſellers than ordinary, and the Man gained by the Sale, beſides what I allowed to him, which was not inconſiderable: It was a great Diſappointment to me, in ſome other Views I had at that Time, that this Man fell ſick and died: I attempted once or twice to furniſh my ſelf with another, but could never get one like him, except a certain Perſon, who the *Swediſh* Reſident, Monſieur *Lyencroon*, recommended, and who wrote an excellent Tract in our Intereſt, entituled, *Reaſons why this Nation* (meaning *England*) *ought to put an End to this expenſive War*, &c. I was extremely pleaſed with that Piece, tho' I could not read it diſtinctly, and for that Reaſon had

had it tranſlated into *French*, and cauſed it to be printed at St. *Omers* in *Flanders*, and diſperſed thro' the *Low Countries*, and at *Paris*, for the publick Information of our own People. Monſieur *Lyencroon* uſed his Endeavour to bring this Author into my Meaſures; and to faciliate the Thing, I cauſed an hundred Piſtoles to be conveyed to him, as a Compliment for that Book, and let him know, it came from a Hand that was as able to treat him honourably, as he was ſenſible of the Service. But I miſſed my Aim in the Perſon, though perhaps the Money was not wholly loſt; for I afterwards underſtood that the Man was in the Service of the State, and that he had let the Queen know of the hundred Piſtoles he had received; ſo I was obliged to ſit ſtill, and be very well ſatisfied that I had not diſcovered my ſelf to him, for it was not our Seaſon yet.

This Kind of ſecret Negotiation was now the moſt of our Employ in *London*, where, with my ſelf, there was now no leſs than five ſecret Agents of *France* employed, as well to liſten into every Thing that was doing in Publick, as to infuſe proper Notions into the Minds of the People who we were among, as we had Occaſion; and ſo faithfully was

the King ſerved in theſe Things, that although we did not all correſpond with one another, yet being all guided by the ſame Hand, we took the moſt regular Meaſures; and as there was nothing paſt without our Obſervation, ſo the King was ſure to have an exact Account of every Thing that was done or doing, either in the City or the Court.

The Campaign now drew on, and the Armies were preparing to take the Field; the King took Care that the Army in *Flanders* was greater than at any Time the Year before; the Regiments all compleated and cloathed, the *Houſhold* eſpecially, made a very fine Appearance, but at the ſame Time his Majeſty gave expreſs Orders to the Marſhal *de Villars*, not to come to a Battel, but to encamp ſo, if poſſible, as to cover the Frontiers, and prevent a Siege; for this, ſays the King, will be our laſt Campaign, if we can avoid a Blow.

As I had no Buſineſs in the Field, it relates not to theſe private Remarks to take Notice of what paſt between the Armies; only in general it may be proper to enter ſomething about it in theſe Minutes: In *Spain*, where the Allies were to carry on the War ESPECIALLY, the Duke of *A*—— was ſent to command;

mand; but if he had *more Troops* than uſually the Queen employed there, the reſt of the Allies *had leſs*; the Loſſes of their late Action at the End of the laſt Campaign, lay ſo heavy on them, and the *German* Troops had ſuffered ſo much, were ſo ill recruited, and, *which was worſe*, ſo ill paid, that all Count *Staremberg* and the *Duke* could do, was but to encamp on the Banks of the *Segra*, and waſte the whole Summer without any conſiderable Action; which, *to us*, was a Victory, being all that the King expected: In *Flanders* it was much the ſame Thing, the two Armies faced one another a long while on the Banks of the *Senſet*; the Confederates had *Douay* in their Rear, and watched an Occaſion to attack *Arras* or *Bouchain*; the *French* had *Cambray* in their Rear, *Bouchain* on their Right, and *Arras* on their Left, and their Buſineſs was to cover them all; they dodg'd and watched one another a great while, till the Time ſpun out, and it was the latter End of *July* before any Thing was done; when the Duke indeed making a Feint of marching towards *Arras*, gave the Mareſchal *Villars* the Slip, and by a ſwift Countermarch paſſed the *Scarp* and the *Senſet*, and got behind our Lines. The Mareſchal was en-

enraged at this Surprize, and had he not been limited by the King's expreſs Orders, would have come to a Battel, which, before their whole Army was come up, he had indeed an Opportunity to do with Advantage: But being obliged to follow his Inſtructions, he had no more to do, but to lie ſtill, and ſuffer *Bouchain* to be inveſted.

People were very merry at *Paris* with the Mareſchal *de Villars* on this Occaſion, who, in his Gaſconading Humour had boaſted in his Letters for a Month before, that he would anſwer for that Campaign, that the Confederates ſhould neither have a Battel or a Siege; but the King was eaſy enough, ſo long as no general Battel had been fought; and no Man knew the true Situation of his Affairs ſo well as himſelf.

In a word, *Bouchain* was attacked after a World of Time ſpent in the neceſſary Caution, our Army being ſo near; the Town made a great Defence, and held out ſome Weeks; and the Mareſchal *de Villars* got as much Credit by obliging the Confederate Army to go into Winter Quarters without undertaking any other Enterprize, as he loſt by being ſurprized at firſt: We who were in *London*, could not but

but ſmile to ſee the *Whigs* and *Tories* fall out about the Glory of this Campaign; one Side complimenting the other Side; mocking the Duke of *M*—— upon the great Succeſs and glorious Progreſs of the Confederates Arms: The *Tories jeering*, asked the *Whigs* when they thought *France* would be conquered at the rate of a *Bouchain* in a Summer? and how many Millions of Money *Bouchain* had coſt, more than the Ground it ſtood on was worth? The *Whigs*, on the other hand, taunted the *Tories* with their new Schemes for carrying on the War; ask'd them, what they thought now of *Eſpecially in* Spain; and whether the Duke of *A*——, or the Duke of *M*——, were the better Generals? They upbraided them with the Duke of *A*—— being as uneaſy at ſerving under Count *Staremberg*, as he was before under the Duke of *M*——; and asked them, if he had tranſmitted no Diſcontents at the Conduct of that General? They bad them caſt up the Expences, and ſee whether the Campaign in *Flanders*, where *ſomething* was got for their Money, was not a better Account than that in *Catalonia*, where the Money was ſpent, and *nothing* at all done.

We were not behind hand to farther theſe Complaints on both Sides, as Occaſion offered; for as our Deſign was to repreſent the War in ſuch Colours, as ſhould perſuade the People to think it a Grievance; ſo we concurr'd in all the Jeſts they made on one Side, as well as on the other; nor indeed were thoſe mutual Railleries unſerviceable to our Intereſt, ſeeing they mutually diſcouraged the People in the Affair of the War in general; made them think it tedious and burthenſome, and the Notions of Peace, which we were ſoon to introduce, the more agreeable and deſirable on many Accounts.

I am now come to the ſubſtantial Part of this Management: The Campaign was over, in which, by loſing no more, we gained a ſufficient Victory; the *Engliſh* might ſay in as boaſting a Manner as they pleaſed, that they had gained a glorious Conqueſt; the more they boaſted in ſuch a Caſe, the more would they be expoſed; for even in *England* the People found that the War was very little nearer an End than it was before; the *French* Army was whole and unbroken, and the Confederates only ſo much more in Debt than they were before.

But as the King, by the Authority of his own Judgment, reſolved before, *even againſt the Opinion of all about him*, to make no Steps towards the Meaſures he had deſigned, till Things were in a Poſture to his Mind; no, tho' he run the riſque of another Campaign, *which indeed, as is ſaid, we were all full of Apprehenſions about*: ſo now, tho' our Apprehenſions were over, the King reſolv'd that the Time was now come to begin. This ſhewed that the King's Meaſures were not laid according as the War was, or was not preſſing, but according to the Progreſs of Things in the *Engliſh* Court, where his Intelligence was punctual and exact, and of which he was the beſt Judge.

The *Tories* had, as is ſaid, fixed themſelves in the Adminiſtration in *England*, and Mr. *H*—— having carried his Point in every Thing, was made Treaſurer: But the Oppoſition which the *Whigs* made in every Step was great, and the certain Views they thought they had of plunging the Miniſtry into Difficulties by the War, buoy'd them up in that Oppoſition; nor was it an improbable Thing, but that they ſhould be liable to the ſame Miſtake, which they found it their Intereſt to blame the o-

ther for; nor was the new Miniſtry a little embarraſſed with the Difficulties which the obſtinate Reſiſtance of the *Whigs* brought them into, with reſpect to their Credit, and the raiſing the neceſſary Funds for the War. When the King ſaw theſe Things, he preſently concluded, that NOW *was the happy Juncture*, which he had ſo long waited for; and that ſince the *Engliſh* Miniſtry were threatned by their Enemies with being diſabled from ſupporting the War, it was not to be doubted but they would accept of having the Glory of making an honourable Peace; and *France* had no more to do, but *to make ſome Propoſals*, that ſhould be more particularly advantageous to the *Britiſh* Nation than ever was offered before.

The Mareſchal *Tallard* was a Priſoner of War in *England*, but was confin'd to an honourable Reſtraint in the Country, at a Town called *Nottingham*, about an hundred *Engliſh* Miles from *London*: But the King having entruſted the Mareſchal with his Meaſures, I was ordered to go to *Nottingham* to concert Meaſures with him, in what manner to break the Ice, and how to bring the Miniſtry to hearken to Propoſals of Peace.

It

It was an *Engliſh* Perſon of Honour, who, before this Journey, I had found Means to have ſome Converſation with, upon the Subject of Peace and War: In the little Conferences we had, the following Heads became the Subject of one Evening's Diſcourſe, (for we talked often about it.)

I told him, that we had in *France* very ſcandalous Notions of the Ends the People of *England* had in View in carrying on this War.

Scandalous Notions! ſaid he: Pray, Sir, *what are your Notions about it?*

I reply'd, that our Notions were, that they did not carry it on upon a Chriſtian Principle.

He deſired me to explain myſelf.

Your Lordſhip, *ſaid I,* will pardon me then, if what I ſay reflects on the *Engliſh* Nation.

He bid me uſe my Freedom, adding, that he ſhould take nothing ill; beſides, ſaid he, you only relate the Opinions of your Countrymen, you do not ſay they are your own.

I told him, we thought they acted in *England,* as if they carried on this War merely to deſtroy; and to act Revenge upon Nations and People, not to obtain the Ends they pretended to fight for;

and that this, we thought, was not Chriſtian.

He replied, if it were true in Fact, he would grant it was not Chriſtian; but, ſays he, *I ſee no ground for the Suggeſtion.*

My Lord, *ſaid I,* the Suggeſtion is very juſt; for you muſt carry on the War for mere Glory, to build a Fame to the Reign of your Queen; or, *which would be worſe,* for the perſonal Ambition of your Generals and Officers.

Ambition do you call it! ſaid he, *turning very quick upon me,* if you had ſaid for getting of Money to our Generals and Officers, I would not have taken much Pains to have juſtified them, for ought I know that may be Part of their Deſign.

I told him, if I choſe rather to call it *Ambition* than *Avarice,* it was, that I would not ſay any thing diſobliging, but I included them both in my Meaning.

He asked me upon what Foundation I charged them with ſuch a Thing.

I told him, becauſe it ſeem'd evident, that they choſe to obtain that by fighting and ſhedding Blood, which, there was no Queſtion, might be obtained by amicable and Chriſtian Methods.

Then

Then I find, ſaid he, you would lay the Beginning of the War at our Door.

No, my Lord, *ſaid I*, I am not going back to Things ſo remote; but if the ſame Things can be obtained by a Peace, which you can expect by the War; How can you be ſaid to carry on the War on a Chriſtian Principle?

He told me, this was begging the Queſtion; for that it did not appear that they cou'd obtain theſe Things by a Peace.

No, my Lord, ſaid I; but it appears you reject all Offers of *Treating*, and by that, you may be juſtly ſaid to reject all the Offers of a Peace. Did ever Nation make War before, and ſhut the Doors againſt all Propoſals of Accommodation?

He told me, I laid my Charge very cloſe, but that he did not ſee that they rejected all Propoſals. There were Propoſals indeed made, *ſaid he*, in *Holland*, but they could be brought to nothing: I know not where the Fault lies; ſometimes we blame your People, and ſometimes our own.

I could eaſily ſatisfy your Lordſhip, ſaid I, where the Fault lay; and I added, that the Uſage we met with there, wou'd have broken off any Treaty in the World.

I differ from you exceedingly, ſaid my Lord, and muſt be allowed to think, that there was a much greater Complaint made, than there was Occaſion given.

I told him, that to avoid Diſputes with his Lordſhip, I would wave that: But, ſaid I, muſt there then, my Lord, never be an End of a bloody War, becauſe that Treaty came to nothing?

He reply'd, that if the King of *France* was ſincerely diſpoſed to Peace, *there was no doubt*, but there might be Ways found out to have his Propoſals hearkned to again by the Allies.

And I return'd to his Lordſhip, that were thoſe Ways found out, *there was no doubt*, but the King of *France* was ſincerely diſpoſed to Peace: But, my Lord, ſaid I, are not all the Doors barr'd againſt receiving Propoſals? Do they think the King will take all the low Steps for a Peace that they ſeem to ſuggeſt, even to implore it of them?

No, indeed, *ſaid my Lord*, I ſee no Door barr'd up, any of the Parties concerned may hear Propoſals, tho' none can fairly enter upon any Treaty, without the Participation of the Allies.

I told him, they might legally perhaps; but all the Allies were ſo afraid of one another, that none of them car'd to meddle; eſpecially, ſaid I, my Lord, you in *England* dare not do it; you would be inſulted preſently, and taxed with carrying on a ſeparate Treaty with *France*, the outed Party want no other Handle againſt you. There

There may be ſomething in that indeed, ſaid he, but were I ſure your King would but make an honourable and a practicable Offer, I would concern my ſelf to bring the Government to hear it.

I told him, I wiſhed his Lordſhip was as able to aſſure me of the laſt, as I was ſure of the firſt.

Truly, *ſaid he*, I make the Offer; becauſe I confeſs I am of the Opinion which you mentioned before, that to carry on the War, when a juſt Satisfaction may be obtained by a Peace, is unchriſtian and unlawful; but let us be ſatisfied, that you will make fair and honourable Propoſals.

My Lord, *ſaid I*, if your Lordſhip will concern your ſelf to have Propoſals accepted, I will concern my ſelf to have ſuch made to you? But I fear you promiſe more than you can obtain.

We broke off the Diſcourſe at this Point, and I not only acquainted Monſieur *Tallard* the Mareſchal of it, but the King himſelf; who, in Return, ordered me by all Means to renew thoſe Diſcourſes, and if I could introduce any Thing of a Treaty, I ſhould ſoon have further Directions.

It was not many Days, before my Lord gave me an Opportunity to ſee him again; and I could eaſily perceive that he had thought what we diſcourſed was ſo conſiderable, that it was worth communicating

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ing to ſome of the great Men then in Buſineſs, who had encouraged him to ſpeak with me again upon that Head: We diſcourſed long, and entered into many particular Debates on the Management of the laſt Treaty, how ſevere the Terms, and how rigidly inſiſted upon, *&c.* I complained, that if the Confederates would not treat in another and more equal Manner than that was, they could not expect any Potentate would treat with them at all; at leaſt, not till they were driven to the laſt Extremity, and to a much greater Diſtreſs than they could ſuppoſe the King of *France* was yet brought to, or he was likely to be brought to in many Years; tho' their Succeſſes ſhould continue in the War to be as great as before.

My Lord took up that Caſe ſomething ſhort, and told me, *that* the People of *England* were very ſanguine in the Affair of *the War*; and that they made no Queſtion, by the Superiority of their Forces, to compel the King of *France* to comply with all their Demands, and even to accept of worſe Conditions than thoſe he refuſed at *Ghertruydenburgh*: He told me, that I could not but ſee that we loſt Ground every Year, and that one Town or two more falling thus every Year, the Time muſt come at laſt, when there would be no more Towns to take; and that then it muſt be diſputed in the Field. I

I replied, but with a great deal of Reſpect, *that* I believed his Lordſhip rather ſpoke the common Sentiments of a Party, than his own; *That* he knew the People were taught to ſpeak thus, to carry on a Deſign, rather than that they who inſtructed them, believed it themſelves; *That* I thought it was a Diſpute, which it was needleſs to enter upon, to examine only how long the War might laſt, and which Nation would ſooneſt be reduced to a Neceſſity of deſiring an End of it; *That* the People of *England* had long been flattered with the Words, *one Year more*, and *one Year more*; and yet I left it to his Lordſhip to conſider impartially, whether the *French* had not rather gain'd than loſt by the War, ſince the refuſing the Preliminaries; *That* tho' it was true we had loſt *Bouchain* this Year, which fell by an accidental Surprize, and a Fineſs in the Art of War; yet, *That* on the *Rhine*, we had puſh'd the *Imperialiſts* to an open Retreat, and had lived at the Expence of the *Germans* all the Summer; *That* in *Spain*, we had won a glorious Victory, ſurrounded and taken all the *Engliſh* Troops Priſoners, and in the Conſequence of thoſe Defeats, had regained that whole Kingdom, and reduced the Confederate Army to lie on the defenſive and little better than under the Cannon

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of *Barcelona*; *That* we had taken *Tortoſa* and *Gironne*, and not left them any Place of Strength, but that Capital, in the whole Country of *Catalonia*; but that notwithſtanding this, and however, *we that were* French-men were of Opinion, the Confederates had as much Reaſon to deſire Peace as we; yet it was manifeſt, the King of *France* did openly deſire Peace, if it might be had upon equal and juſt Conditions; but that, as I ſaid before, *I thought* the Confederates purſued the War with an unchriſtian Temper, being rather willing to obtain their End by the Sword, than by Treaty: I added, that as the *God of Juſtice* was Witneſs to the Sincerity of the King's Deſigns, ſo it could never be expected, that Heaven would proſper thoſe, who ſeem'd to purſue a War, merely for the cruel and unjuſt Ends of enriching one Nation by the Ruin of another; that I was perſuaded if the Queen had theſe Things rightly repreſented to her, her Majeſty was a Princeſs of too much Humanity, to countenance the carrying on a War, when *all that could be expected by the War*, was ready to be given her by a Peace; and that without impoveriſhing and racking her Subjects, without ruining their Commerce, and deſtroying the Navigation; and in a word, without the Devaſtation of War, and the

ſhedding

ſhedding of Chriſtian Blood: I begg'd his Lordſhip to conſider theſe Things; and as his honourable Station gave him Opportunity to lay theſe Things before the Queen, I ſhould eſteem it greatly my Honour and Satisfaction; and I believed ſo would his Lordſhip too, if this accidental Diſcourſe, which had been begun without any View or Deſign, by an obſcure Traveller and Stranger, might be a Means to lay a Foundation of ſo glorious an Event, as that of Peace to ſo many Nations, who were at this time involved in this dreadful and deſtructive War.

His Lordſhip liſten'd to this Diſcourſe very attentively; but when I had done, he gave me an Anſwer ſmiling, which I did not ſo well underſtand the Jeſt of, till ſome Time; *MONSIEUR*, ſays my Lord, *you talk juſt the Language of our new Gentlemen at Court, you make me ſmile to think, that either you in* France *have convers'd with them*, OR, *they have learned from you*; I made no Reply to this, not ſeeming to underſtand it, as indeed at firſt I did not; but when this Diſcourſe was over, his Lordſhip told me, he thought in his Conſcience there was no Difficulty ſo great in the Affair of Peace, as that of making and receiving the Propoſals; *That is very true*, my Lord, ſaid I, *and that is the Reaſon, why I ſaid you do not*

carry

carry the War on like Chriſtians; and that the Door is barr'd againſt Applications of Peace: Nay, my Lord, ſaid I, *have not the Confederates uſed their Intereſt in all the Courts of* Chriſtendom, *to deſire that no Prince ſhould offer his Mediation? Is not this teſtifying that they reſolve to have no Peace? And is not this contrary to the Uſage of all Nations?*

His Lordſhip ſeemed offended at this, and ſaid, there was no Occaſion in the preſent Caſe for Propoſals; the King knew what the Confederates inſiſted on, the Preliminaries were yet in being, and his Majeſty had no more to do, whenever he really deſired Peace, than to ſend Word to the States, that he accepted the Preliminaries, and the War would immediately ceaſe; and if he did not do thus, it was him, *the King*, who continued the War, not the Confederates.

I replied, that his Lordſhip knew very well, that the Preliminaries, not to ſpeak of the Unreaſonableneſs of the Conditions, did not ſubſiſt now; that things were in another Situation, ſo that many of thoſe Conditions were impracticable; That, for Example, the Arch-Duke was beaten out of *Spain*, and King *Philip* remained victorious; and if it was not in the Power of *France* then, to oblige him in two Months to quit the Throne, much leſs would it be ſo now; that the Arch-

Duke

Duke was now declared Emperor of *Germany*, and there was Reaſon to queſtion, *whether all the Allies* would deſire he ſhould be poſſeſſed of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy alſo, which Addition would overthrow the Balance of *Europe*, which had been ſo much ſpoken of by the late Plenipotentiaries; that if the King thought it hard, to oblige his Grandſon to quit the *Spaniſh* Throne before, he muſt needs think it both hard, with Reſpect to his Grandſon, and unſafe to his own Kingdoms, to do it now; but that there was no doubt, but Expedients might be found out if a Treaty was ſet on Foot, and that perhaps, Propoſals might be made equally ſafe for *Europe*, if a Medium was but found out, for the bringing ſuch Propoſals on the Stage.

His Lordſhip told me, theſe were juſt the common Topicks of the new Miniſtry, who looked as if they were in Concert with our People of *France*, to make the treating eaſier than it was.

I replied, if they were willing to make Treating eaſy to us, they were ſo much better Chriſtians than others; that if they were in Concert with any of our People, I ſhould be glad; I only wiſhed for the common Good of the World, that ours were in Concert with them, or with any one elſe, that a good Peace might be ſettled.

That is what I wiſh as well as you, ſaid my

my Lord, *but we ſhall all differ about what you call a good Peace; what is good for one, will not be thought good for another; you ſee they could not agree about it in* Holland.

I returned, that we might perhaps in *England* for all that.

But, ſays my Lord, *your Propoſals muſt be made there.*

But why not in England, my Lord, ſaid I?

Nay, ſays my Lord, *I cannot tell; I think any one of the Allies may receive Propoſals, and communicate them to the reſt; why do ye not make them?*

Now I had brought it as far as I thought was convenient for the preſent, ſo I turned off that cloſe Queſtion thus; *Nay*, my Lord, *I am no Miniſter of State, I am but a private Gentleman; I only enter'd into theſe Diſcourſes by Accident, your Lordſhip ſeeming not to diſlike the Converſation; I wiſh I had Intereſt among the great Men on both ſides, I would ſoon bring them together, and* France *ſhould make ſuch Propoſals to all the Allies, and to the Queen in particular, as ſhould be better to* England *than ever was made yet.*

My Lord returned with a great Freedom thus: Monſieur, I am very ſorry to hear what you now tell me; for we were gone ſo very far, that I verily thought you had ſome Intereſt in the Affair, and would at laſt produce me a ſufficient Authority to go farther with you; I will

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be very open with you, I am ſatisfied our Miniſtry would do any thing that they can lawfully, honourably, and conveniently do, to put an End to the War; for they are ſo oppreſſed by the Faction of the *Whigs*, in the carrying it on, that there is nothing they deſire more. Now if you think that your People are inclined to make a Propoſal for an honourable Peace, and ſuch as may be to the Satisfaction of the Allies, and eſpecially as may have ſomething in it advantageous to *England*; I ſay, if you are ſure of this, and they deſign it ſincerely, can you not propoſe ſome Way to introduce it and bring it about?

My Lord, ſaid I, tho' I am no publick Perſon, I am not deſtitute of Acquaintance with thoſe in my Country, who can ſay more to it than we can at this Diſtance; and if your Lordſhip will give me Leave to write upon this Subject, I will faithfully let you know what Anſwer I receive. My Lord told me, he would be very glad that I would write, or do any thing elſe, that might further ſo good a Work; and I deſired that his Lordſhip would in the mean time think of ſome Method for the receiving ſuch Propoſals as might be made. *Leave that to me*, ſays my Lord; and thus we parted for that time.

It is eaſier to think, than to deſcribe by Words, what a Satisfaction it was to me to have made this Step; and I failed not to let the King have the full Account of every Particular, as well as the Mareſchal *Tallard*, to whom I ſent the next Day.

About the Return of the Poſt, I took an Occaſion to meet my Lord again; and he asked me, if I had heard any thing further about that Affair: I told him, I had; and that the firſt thing I had to ask of his Lordſhip was, whether he would give me Leave to bring into his Company a Gentleman, who had Credentials ſufficient to ſatisfy him, that what he ſaid was with Authority, and might be depended upon: He anſwered me, that he could not go that Length without Leave of the Queen; but that this was, he acknowledged, a good Advance for ſo ſhort a time on my Part, and he would mention it, if I was willing, as a Mark that we were ſincere in the Deſign: I told him, I had but one Requeſt to his Lordſhip, which was, that he would give me his Honour for concealing me, and every one elſe, till it might be convenient to own what they were about. *You need not capitulate with me*, replied my Lord, *for that; I would not have it known on my own Account for* ten thouſand Pound; *and the Miniſtry, I am ſure, would not for* ten times the Sum: *you have my Word for it.*

We

We parted at that time, and met again the next Evening; when my Lord ſeeing me come into the Room alone, he looked a little diſappointed: *What, are you alone, MONSIEUR,* ſays he? Yes, my Lord, ſaid I, for a little while, but we ſhall ſoon have the Perſon your Lordſhip expects, he is already in the Houſe; but I have a few Preliminaries to offer firſt to your Lordſhip, ſaid I, which I thought it was neceſſary to mention, and therefore deſired a few Words with your Lordſhip before-hand: This he was very well pleaſed with, ſo we ſat down.

I made ſome Introduction to excuſe my plain Way of Diſcourſe to him, and that he ſhould not conſtrue the Forwardneſs I had ſhewn to the Diſadvantage of the Propoſals that were to be made: All this he told me was needleſs; that he liked things the better, for the open Way that they had been communicated; and ſhould be glad, whoever was employed, they might find the ſame Plainneſs and Honeſty in them, which he believed I had uſed with him: Why then, my Lord, ſaid I, I will only beg leave to lay one Paper before you, and as ſoon as you have peruſed and approved it, I'll bring to you a Perſon ſufficiently empowered, to diſcourſe with you more cloſely than we have been able to do. Hereupon I laid before him my Commiſ-

ſion, or Power, ſigned by the King's own Hand, and ſealed in Form, empowering me to treat in private with any Perſon the Queen ſhould direct, for the admitting Propoſals to be made to her Majeſty for a Treaty of Peace, and alſo to regulate ſuch Propoſals as ſhould concern the Queen's Dominions in particular.

He was greatly ſurprized when he ſaw this, and eſpecially when he knew my Name; and riſing from his Seat, paid me the Reſpects due to an Ambaſſador. I declined the Compliment, abſolutely refuſing the Title of *Excellence*, &c. and intreating his Lordſhip to uſe me ſtill as a private Perſon; that otherwiſe it would deſtroy the Freedom of our Conferences, and make concealing us exceeding difficult, if not impoſſible. He muſed a while, *Well*, ſays he, *then it ſhall be ſo*; then he embraced me, and told me with abundance of Civility, that he would treat me as a Friend: I told him, in that he would do me too much Honour, but moſt certainly aſſiſt me moſt effectually in the difficult Affair we had before us.

I then began to diſcourſe of Buſineſs; but my Lord told me there was a Difficulty in the Way, that he did not ſee how it was poſſible to get over; *that is*, continued he, *it is impoſſible for me to bring any Credentials to you, or any one that will have*

any; we are in ſuch Circumſtances here, that no Man dare take any Powers to enter into a Treaty on theſe Things.

My Lord, ſaid I, *that Scruple ſhall be eaſily removed, I ask no Ceremony of* Credentials; *we are not to enter into a Treaty of Peace, but to talk of Methods to introduce ſuch a Thing: Your Lordſhip will be pleaſed to let me know that you do not act from yourſelf, and to do it in ſuch a Way as you ſhall think fit.*

I will go farther than that, Sir, ſays my Lord; *I will introduce you to the Queen herſelf, and you ſhall ſee her Majeſty direct you to me: Will that ſatisfy,* ſays he; *if it will not, I know not what to ſay? Yes, my Lord,* ſays I, *fully.*

The next Morning he took me in his Coach to *Kenſington,* where I believe the Queen went for the Occaſion, for the Court was not there; and where I had the Honour to kiſs her Majeſty's Hand: after which, my Lord ſpeaking privately to the Queen, her Majeſty turned about to me, and ſaid, *Sir, My Lord ——— here,* directing herſelf towards his Lordſhip, *has given me an Account of what Steps you have taken, you may let him hear what you have to ſay;* I bowed, and was going to ſay ſomething, tho' I hardly knew what; but her Majeſty turned too quick from me to my Lord again, ſo I ſtopp'd; my Lord

ſpoke a good while to the Queen again; and when had done, the Queen turn'd to me, and ſaid, *'Tis a good Work, pray God ſucceed you in it: I am ſure I long for Peace, I hate this dreadful Work of Blood*; at which her Majeſty ſhook her Head two or three times, ſaying ſome other Words that *I could* not hear, which I was very ſorry for; and then the Queen retired, and we withdrew. The Work was now on the Anvil, and we had nothing to do, but to appoint our Meetings, and go on with it; nor were we long about it.

I avoided, as carefully as my Lord could deſire it, the entring into a formal Negotiation; the chief of our Diſcourſe turned upon the Method of the making and receiving Propoſals, ſo as to give no Umbrage to the Allies; which, it was eaſy to ſee, they would take upon the firſt Rumours of ſuch a Thing. I was willing for a while to put it to his Lordſhip to give me his Opinion, in what Manner the Miniſtry here would act; but he declined that Part, only this he granted me, which, he ſaid, was to avoid Ceremony, *viz.* That the Court of *Great Britain* was as ſincerely deſirous to entertain the Notion of Peace, as the King of *France* was to make it: and as the Queen herſelf had let me ſee her warm Deſire for putting an End to the Calamities of *Europe*, ſo he

would not hide it from me, that it was his Opinion, that the Miniſtry had no other Way to ſupport their new Engagement, and carry on the Schemes they had laid, but to bring this Treaty to a Concluſion.

I replied, that I was very glad to find ſuch a good Diſpoſition in the *Britiſh* Court to put an End to the War; and ſince his Lordſhip had proceeded hitherto in a generous Confidence with me, I ſhould endeavour to merit the Favour by all the honourable and generous Terms poſſible; That I hoped, I need not ſay any thing of the ſincere Deſire which the King had to enter into a fair Treaty with all the Allies; the many low Steps his Majeſty had taken to bring the former Treaty to paſs, and the Hardſhips which he had ſubmitted to in the carrying it on, had teſtified ſufficiently that he deſired nothing more: And as I was ſatisfied, his Majeſty would meet with more honourable Treatment in *England*, and that either they would treat with him with Reſpect, or not treat at all; ſo I was commiſſioned to enter with her Majeſty into ſuch a particular Agreement, or *ſecret*, reſerv'd *Articles*, for her own Part, as ſhould demonſtrate the ſincere Reſpect the King my Maſter had for her Majeſty's Perſon and Intereſt; which *ſecret Articles* being not to take place until the general Peace was made,

could be no Injuſtice to any of the Allies, to whom the King is willing to give all reaſonable Satisfaction, according to the mutual Engagements of the Confederacy.

My Lord replied, he was aſſured, that if *England* treated with us at all, it would be with all the Reſpect and good Breeding imaginable; but he queſtioned very much, whether they would be brought to any thing, without the Surrender of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy as a Preliminary.

I anſwered, that it was my Opinion, that Caſe had received ſuch a Turn by the Arch-Duke being made Emperor, and by King *Philip* having recovered it all out of his Hands, that it would be found at a Treaty, that all the Allies would not be of the ſame Mind in that Article, that they were in before; nay, that *Great Britain* herſelf would not be equally willing to put ſo great a Part of *Europe* into one Hand, as the Empire and the *Spaniſh* Monarchy would be, joined to the many Kingdoms and Countries already poſſeſſed by the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and that it much rather concern'd them to prevent it.

But, ſays my Lord, *it will immediately occur to us, that neither can it be ſafe to* Europe, *that the* Spaniſh *Monarchy ſhould be join'd to the powerful Dominions of the Houſe of* Bourbon; *and this our People*

are

are already very jealous of; nay, it was the Reaſon for the Beginning of the War.

I replied, that I granted all this; but that if then a Medium might be found out, by which *Europe* might be ſufficiently aſſured that this ſhould never come to paſs; and that one and the ſame Perſon ſhould never be King of the two Kingdoms at the ſame Time; that then a firm Peace might be made between the Nations, tho' the immediate Surrender of *Spain* was not made a Preliminary.

He told me, if ſuch a Medium could be found out, he would be of my Mind; but he did not ſee how it was poſſible.

Of the Poſſibility, my Lord, ſaid I, the Plenipotentiaries may treat; and if they do not find it poſſible, then we have no more to ſay; in the mean time, it's a Treaty only that we are at preſent upon, in which Caſe, I dare venture to grant it as a Preliminary, that the King will freely, and *bona fide*, conſent to all ſuch Meaſures as ſhall appear juſt and reaſonable, that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* may never be united on the Head of the ſame Prince.

My Lord ſeemed pleaſed at this, and ſmiling, ſaid, *You give me now ſome View of a Peace, which indeed I never had before;* I grant, *if this can be ſecured, the End of*

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the War is anſwer'd; I confeſs, *I was never for giving* Spain *to the Houſe of* Auſtria, *ſince the preſent King* Charles, (ſo he called him,) *was made* Emperor; *only upon this Foundation*, viz. *that it was better to him, than to the Houſe of* Bourbon; *but if you can find out a Way to ſecure* Europe *from the Conjunction of the two Crowns, the End is effectually anſwered.*

My Lord, ſaid I, *tho' I make no Queſtion ſuch Meaſures may be found out, yet the finding them out, or propoſing them, is not our preſent Work; if it is made a Preliminary, that is enough for the preſent; if after that they cannot adjuſt it, we cannot help that; all we do now ſtands for nothing, unleſs they agree.*

Well, ſays my Lord, *pray put that Head down in Writing*: I did ſo, and he carried it away with him, and told me, he did not doubt but to bring me a very good Account of it by the next Evening; who he ſhewed it to, I know not, but he brought the next Evening a great many Minutes made upon that Subject, ſome of which he read to me; in which I found very little Evidence of the Perſons having underſtood the Thing they had viewed, and yet I found them very willing to go on upon the deſigned Negotiation.

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The next Day we met again, when my Lord preſſed me vehemently to enter with him into the Meaſures which are mentioned in the Propoſals; but I told him it did not belong to us, our preſent Buſineſs was to ſet a Treaty on Foot, not to begin the Treaty it ſelf. *Well, but,* ſays my Lord, *we may make a Converſation upon the Head as private Perſons.* My Lord, ſays I, *my Inſtructions do not allow me to treat; but if your Lordſhip deſires to talk in Confidence, I have too great an Aſſurance of your Juſtice, to ſcruple putting all that Confidence in your Honour, that the greateſt Freedom of Diſcourſe calls for.*

Tell me then, ſays he, *Do you think the Thing you propoſed about* Spain *feaſible?* I returned with a Queſtion, *Can your Lordſhip doubt it?* His Lordſhip clapt his Hand upon the Table, and I think ſwore, that he could not ſee any Thing in it but *Renunciations*; and that, he ſaid, was a Thing ſo contemptible in *England*, that the very common People would hiſs it out of the Nation; every one having in Memory the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and the many Renunciations made there, which nevertheleſs were of no Moment, the King of *France* being powerful enough to break them: Here I told his Lordſhip, that I conceived,

conceived, even from his laſt Words, that there was a manifeſt Difference between a weak King renouncing his Claim to a ſtrong Kingdom, and a ſtrong King renouncing a weak Kingdom.

This ſtartled him again for a while; but after muſing ſome Time, he ſaid, he believed if the King of *France* was reſolved to have ſuch Renunciations take Place, it might be in his Power to conſolidate them by naming the Heirs, and embarking all the Confederates in a Guarantee to ſupport the Heir in Poſſeſſion. We had a great deal of Diſcourſe on that Head, and it took us up the whole Evening, but either I made him a Convert to my Opinion, or he was ſo by the Conſequences of private Circumſtances, for by this Time I began to find the new Managers, who were all in the Secret, were impatient for ſome *Coup d' eclat*, to ſtop the Violence of the Whigs, who laid cloſe Siege to them, and began to grow very ſtrong.

We met again the next Day, and my Lord told me, he had ſeriouſly conſidered what we talked of the Night before, and he did not ſay but what I had offered had Weight in it, but the Thing was of ſuch Moment, and it would lie ſo heavy on the Miniſtry, if they ſhould make a Demand ſhort of what was offered before,

that

that they could not ſupport it; and therefore he deſired to ask me, if a Treaty was granted on thoſe Heads, would the King give the Queen of *Great Britain* ſome ſuch Security that he was ſincere, as ſhould be more than was annext to the laſt Treaty, and as might be ſufficient to juſtify their Proceedings to all the Allies? I returned to this immediately, that as this was remote from what we met about, ſo I hoped he did not expect my Reply in the Form of an Agent; he ſaid, no, no, but as a private Converſation. *Why then*, my Lord, ſaid I, *what Security would you ask?* His Lordſhip returned in a Manner, that eaſily made me underſtand he was directed; *Will you give us* Dunkirk? *Give it you!* my Lord, ſaid I, *how do you underſtand giving it you?* Give it us as a Pledge of the Sincerity of the King's Intentions: How, ſaid I, again, will you return it again after the Peace? Nay, ſays my Lord, we cannot ſay that; but you may give it into our Hands, as a Pledge to be diſpoſed of afterwards, as by the Peace, when it is concluded, ſhall be directed.

Dunkirk, my Lord, ſaid I, is an unvalued Treaſure, but there is nothing the Queen can ask of the King my Maſter,

but

but what in Dependance upon her Majeſty's Juſtice he will be ready to grant.

Well, Sir, ſaid he, I would have you write about it. If the King will make a Depoſit of that Value in our Hands, I think we ſhall then have no Reaſon to doubt his Sincerity; and I dare ſay, on ſuch a Teſtimony of his Majeſty's Confidence in the Queen, her Majeſty will think herſelf obliged to contribute all that in her lies, to put an End to the War, and will look upon the King as her Friend and Ally.

My Lord, ſaid I, as I am ſure there is nothing on Earth which the King my Maſter deſires more, than a ſtrict Amity with her *Britannick* Majeſty; I dare aſſure you, without writing about it, that he will not ſcruple to make that Sacrifice to her Majeſty, as a Pledge of his Paſſion for her Friendſhip; and when we come to talk cloſer on thoſe Things, I ſhall give your Lordſhip Satisfaction in that Particular.

I obſerved, that when his Lordſhip had gained this Point, he was ſo big with it, that he was uneaſy to be gone; and I believed afterward he went directly to the Queen with it.

NOW, by this time I was ſo well acquainted with the Court, that I had ſecret

ſecret Intelligence of many Paſſages, and particularly I had this Lord watched every Night when he went from me, ſo that I knew very well who he communicated his Proceedings to, and conſequently, who he concerted Meaſures with; and I quickly learned that his Diſcourſe to me, though he called it private Converſation, was all under the Inſtructions of a ſecret Committee of the Managers of that Time, the Queen herſelf perhaps often preſent; the Thoughts of getting *Dunkirk* into their Hands, I found took with the Miniſtry extremely, as a Thing which would recommend them to the People, and make the Peace ſeem particularly advantageous to *England*.

They owned to me afterwards, that it was the more grateful to them, as they were aſſured it would be a Mortification to the old Miniſtry, who never had an Opportunity to ask ſuch a Thing, or even a Poſſibility of it; all their Demands having been made at ſecond hand, by the Miniſters of the *States General*, who wou'd be ſo far from asking ſuch a thing, eſpecially to have it put into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, that if we had offered it, they would not have conſented to it, but would have inſiſted to have it garriſon'd

riſon'd by an equal Number at leaſt, of their own Troops.

They were not backward neither, to acknowledge that the having *Dunkirk* put into their Hands, was the more agreeable to them, as they knew it would be a ſenſible Mortification to the *States General*; who, at that Time, they looked upon as ſecretly abetting and ſupporting the Faction, as they called it, of the *Whigs* againſt them.

After therefore I had aſſured them, that the King had ordered me to let the Queen of *Great Britain* know, that he would make that Sacrifice to the Zeal he had for her Majeſty's Satisfaction, and to the Deſire he entertained of entring into a ſtrict Friendſhip with her Majeſty and her People; I found them in ſo good a Humour as to every thing elſe, that I had much leſs Difficulty to bring other Points to a Concluſion than I expected; and particularly from this Time, I found my Lord———come readily into the Article of the Renunciations, and the Reaſonableneſs of keeping *Spain* out of the Hands of the Houſe of *Auſtria:* I found alſo, that the Arguments I had uſed with his Lordſhip, were preſently made the popular Arguments of the Town; from whence I drew ſeveral Inferences for my private Government;

ment; Firſt, I found by it, that the Miniſtry were but indifferently furniſhed before with a true Notion of the War they were carrying on; and were not ſorry to have ſomething put into their Thoughts to anſwer the received Opinion of the People of *England*, viz. *That no End could be put to the War, without King* Philip *was dethron'd*; which dethroning appearing every Day more and more difficult, the putting an End to the War, which above all Things was neceſſary to them, ſeemed impracticable; and to ſay the Truth, this Difficulty embaraſſed them very much: The *Whigs* had made the carrying on the War ſuch a Principle in the State, that to talk otherwiſe was, among the People, a Kind of Treaſon at that Time againſt their Conſtitution; and it was an admirable Policy in the *Whigs* to do ſo; for had the Miniſtry been obliged to carry on the War Abroad, they could very ill have ſupported themſelves againſt the Oppoſition they met with at Home: And it was upon this Occaſion, that Mr. *St. John*, at that Time *Secretary of State*, when ſomething was ſaid in their Parliament concerning ſecret Councils, to the Prejudice of the Publick, openly declared in the Houſe of Parliament, that *the Miniſtry was oppreſſed by a*

Faction, *with deſign to make the carrying on the War difficult; and that her Majeſty was therefore reſolved to make Peace upon the beſt Terms ſhe could, that ſhe might not come again into the Management of her own Servants.*

In the next place, I found that the Miniſtry were full of Reſentments againſt the *Dutch*; not only for their offering to interpoſe with the Queen in the Caſe of the late Changes at Court, which they called an Inſolence unſufferable, and meddling with her Majeſty's private Adminiſtration; but for their Tampering, as it was call'd, with the publick Affairs of *Britain*, entring into Confidences, and keeping Correſpondences with the old Miniſters, after they were diſplaced; ſupporting their Intrigues, and making Engagements with them, which, as they gave out, they had diſcovered; *particularly*, their prevailing with the Duke of *M*—— not to demit the Command of the Army; *and I was told, that they pretended to have Intelligence* that the *Dutch* had offered Aſſiſtance to the Duke, and his Friends, if he ſhould find it for the publick Good, to oblige the new Miniſtry by Force to lay down: Whether they had any Ground for that Suggeſtion, or that they thought it for their Ser-

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vice to perſuade the Queen to believe it, were it true or not, is yet a Secret to moſt People: but I have ſome Reaſon to ſay the latter was the Caſe.

But to go back to our Negotiation: We were ſtill upon the Subject of what Conceſſions would be neceſſary on the King's Side, not only to ſatisfy the Queen of his Majeſty's ſincere Reſolutions for Peace, but alſo to juſtify the new Miniſtry in the Meaſures they were to take for a Treaty, by the Advantage of the Offers; and though all that we did, was but in Confidence, and taken *ad referendum*, yet we went through the Points as if we had been Plenipotentiaries empowered to treat, and conclude every thing we diſcourſed of.

Alſo we were not without our politick Steps in this Affair on both Sides; for as I eaſily perceived how great an Alteration the Offer of giving up *Dunkirk* to them had made in their Temper; how open, how free, and how ready they were to grant on their Side, *as it were*, in Return for ſo generous a Propoſal; ſo I failed not to make ſome Advantages of it, and improve it to make a Demand of ſomething to be given us in Return, and as an Equivalent. When I firſt propoſed this to my Lord ——————, he ſeemed

ſtruck and ſurprized, and I eaſily perceived the Effects of it increaſed the next Day, after he had communicated it to the Queen; for coming to mention it among other Diſcourſes, *he told me*, I had the Art of blowing hot, and blowing cold; that I gave with the one Hand, and took away with the other: That I had made them believe the King would ſacrifice *Dunkirk* to her Majeſty, as an Aſſurance of his Sincerity, *&c.* and that now I talked of an *Equivalent*, which he ſaid, I knew was not in her Majeſty's Power to offer, and that it ſeem'd to him, as if I had repented the Compliment that was offered, or had found it was too eaſily accepted, and was willing to throw a Difficulty in the Way, and render it impracticable; that ſo we might keep *Dunkirk*, without ſeeming to break our Word.

I ſeemed ſurprized at this Explanation of my Meaning, which I alledged was unkind, and that it ſuppoſed me to be very diſingenuous in my Propoſals: I told his Lordſhip, that *Dunkirk* was not only the ſtrongeſt Bulwark of the *French* Monarchy, and the Port to a great Part of his Majeſty's Dominions; but had coſt the King immenſe Sums, as well to purchaſe it, as to fortify and improve it, and to put it into the Condition of one of

of the ſtrongeſt and moſt important Fortreſſes in the World; and as his Frontiers would be left naked, and his Revenues infinitely impaired by the giving it up, ſo it was but reaſonable that ſome Equivalent ſhould be given to his Majeſty for ſuch a Loſs; but I added, that his Lordſhip had no Reaſon to ſuggeſt any thing unkind or unfair, in the Manner of my propoſing it, and eſpecially the Explanations which I ſhould give it, would fully ſatisfy his Lordſhip that nothing could be leſs in my Thoughts, or remoter from my Views. That for Example; *Firſt*, the Equivalent I propoſed, I told him, was referr'd to the general Treaty, but that the King would immediately put her Majeſty in Poſſeſſion of the Place. *Secondly*, That they knew the Queen could not give this Equivalent, none of the Acquiſitions in *Flanders* being in her Majeſty's Poſſeſſion, but that it muſt come from the *Dutch*; and all that ſhould be expected was, that her Majeſty would think herſelf obliged to uſe her Intereſt with the Allies in the enſuing Treaty, to give ſuch an Equivalent, which there was no doubt they would comply with, after it was openly mentioned in the Preliminaries.

My Lord——————was a Man of too much Sincerity, to manage a Conference of this Kind with any, who would take Advantage of thoſe Things: I could eaſily perceive, even in his Countenance, the Satisfaction this Declaration of my Meaning in the Word, an *Equivalent*, gave him; for he had, as he frankly told me afterwards, looked upon the Treaty as entirely broken off, and at an End upon that Head; and as I placed it, he was made perfectly eaſy; for it mattered not much, as I perceived, what the Equivalent was, ſo long as the *Dutch* were to give it; and we ſoon adjuſted that Equivalent between ourſelves to be the City of *Liſle*, and the Towns of *Douay* and *Bouchain*, or any Alternative for the latter, as ſhould be determined afterwards in a Treaty. As I made this Advance upon them, on Account of the Fondneſs they ſhew'd of getting *Dunkirk* into their Hands; ſo they were not behind-hand with me, in taking Advantages of the Forwardneſs which I had ſhewed in ſo unexpectedly offering ſuch a Compliment to the deſired Treaty; and my Lord began to enquire, if we had nothing elſe to offer on the Account of the Negotiations, to the particular Intereſt of the Queen; for that *Dunkirk*, tho'

tho' conſiderable in itſelf, yet was not to be looked upon as a Gift to the Queen in Propriety; that the Allies would never be eaſy to have it ſo, neither did the Queen deſire it; but that it ſhould be entirely raſed and deſtroyed, as what would otherwiſe create Jealouſies and Uneaſineſſes among their Neighbour States, and perhaps, ſome time or other, kindle the Flame of a new War in *Europe*.

I replied, that *Dunkirk* was ſuch a Place, and of ſuch Conſequence, that there was no doubt but the Confederates would inſiſt on its being demoliſhed; and that it was the King's Intereſt in particular to have it to be ſo; and that as it was on this Proſpect, that his Majeſty conſented to part with it; ſo it was on the Suppoſition of this only, that an Equivalent could be demanded of the *Dutch*: That though, to oblige her Majeſty, the King was ready to conſent to the giving it into her Hands whole and entire, as it now is, and to leave the Time to herſelf when to demoliſh it; yet that it was evident, it would not be for her Service, to agree that it ſhould not be demoliſhed at all: That I had propoſed *Dunkirk*, as a Teſtimony of the King's Sincerity in the Propoſals, and of his Reſolution to oblige her Majeſty, being an

Offer of the higheſt Nature, and therefore qualified effectually to convince her Majeſty of both; that I appealed to his Lordſhip, whether I had not outdone even his Expectations; that after ſuch an Advance, I was ſurprized to hear his Lordſhip ask me, *What elſe I had to offer?* But as this was a Teſtimony that his Majeſty cou'd deny nothing her Majeſty had Reaſon to deſire; ſo if there was any thing elſe, in which the King could oblige the Queen, if her Majeſty pleaſed to let me know it, I would faithfully repreſent it to the King, and did not doubt but I ſhould obtain it.

His Lordſhip anſwered, that there were ſome private Things the Queen would deſire, and ſome publick; the laſt of which, he ſaid, it was reaſonable to make a Part of the Preliminary Agreement, and therefore ſhould be mentioned as ſuch, *viz.* a ſolemn Recognition of her Majeſty's Title, and of the Settlement of the Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*.

I could not but ſmile at this Propoſal. I told his Lordſhip, that if her Majeſty did require thoſe Things for Form Sake, they would be granted in ſuch particular Manner as her Majeſty ſhould direct; but I deſired to make this Explanation at leaſt verbally, (*viz.*) That as his Majeſty

was

was ſatisfied the Queen was too juſt to deſire that imaginary Schemes ſhould take Place, and that we made no doubt, ſhe would find out Ways and Methods to reſtore the rightful Heir of her Father to his juſt Dominions after her Deceaſe; ſo the King my Maſter would conſent to any ſuch Article looking the other Way, as might diſengage him from the Obligation of that Agreement, as Occaſion ſhould preſent.

My Lord ——— returned, that we muſt talk no Treaſon; that the Queen could not admit of any Explanations, whatever her Majeſty's Intentions might be. That the Succeſſion was ſettled by Act of Parliament, and their Enemies deſired no better Handle againſt them, than to find they ſhould omit any thing in a Treaty which the Nature of the Thing called for, towards a further Security of that Settlement. That as to the private Sentiments of the Queen, or of any about her, they could ſay nothing about that. This he ſaid with ſuch an Air, as let me underſtand that he gave a ſecret Aſſent to what I had propoſed; *at leaſt*, that I had not ſpoken ſo diſagreeably of that Part as he ſeemed to ſuggeſt; but he ſaid there were many Reaſons why he

he desired I would drop that Part of the Discourse.

I told his Lordship, he should be obeyed, and that I only desired this Use might be made of what I had said, (*viz.*) that it might be remembred I had given that Caution, with Respect to what might happen hereafter; and that whatever should be agreed on in Publick, it might be understood according to the Interpretation I had spoken of.

My Lord replied, that he would remember it; upon which, I told him, I did not question but a Person would be sent over, in the Course of this Negotiation, to set that Matter in a true Light, and to give her Majesty full Satisfaction of what Views the King had of that Kind before him; for that I was sure, his Majesty would resolve to take no Measures without first acquainting and consulting her Majesty, and directing all Things according to her Pleasure.

Well then, said my Lord, *let us talk no more of it now; when that Treaty begins, I shall desire that I may be no Plenipotentiary.*

Upon this we wav'd the Discourse for the present; and I told my Lord, that as to her Majesty's Title in Possession, the

King

King had ordered me to acknowledge it in Form, and to assure the Queen, that he would be Guarantee for her quiet Possession with his utmost Force, and with all his Power, and leave it upon his Successors to do the same; and she had no more to do, than to order it to be inserted in the strongest Manner possible.

My Lord desired I would put it into Writing, which I did in the very Words which were afterwards published, and called the Preliminaries; (*viz.*) *That he will acknowledge the Queen of* Great Britain *in that Quality*. He pressed me to add the other, which I declined for some Time, but afterwards did, tho' in the most ambiguous Terms; thus, (*viz.*) *As also the Succession of that Crown, according to the* Present *Settlement*. He would have had me added, *on the House of* Hanover; but this I intreated him not to desire of me, and told him, I could by no Means be concerned in it; so he insisted no more on it.

We returned then to the Discourse of other Branches of the Queen's publick Demands; but I entirely prevailed with him to let nothing more be mentioned in Publick. At first I told him, that the acknow-

acknowledging the Queen and the Settlement, and the giving up *Dunkirk*, with a Declaration that all the reſt of the Allies ſhould receive Satisfaction in their reaſonable Demands at the Treaty, was enough to convince her Majeſty of the King's upright Intentions, and were in themſelves Preliminaries enough, at leaſt for us to talk of; adding, that if more were found convenient, we might reſolve them afterward.

I then asked his Lordſhip, if he would pleaſe to communicate his Thoughts to me upon any further Demands which the Queen had to make, and that we might diſcourſe on them ſtill in Confidence as before; he told me, he would communicate ſome to me, but that there were ſome Things, which he would not mention, till he had further Inſtructions.

He told me, that hitherto *England* had acted the generous Part in all the Treaties that had been made, and that the Allies had thought fit to let her do ſo, without ſhewing any Concern for her Intereſt, as if the Queen had no Intereſt of her own to purſue; or that the Allies had no Intereſt to look after but their own. That the Miniſtry, though it was not only Juſtice to the Queen, and doing

their

their Duty to their Country, but it both recommended them and the Treaty alſo to the whole Nation; that ſomething ſhould be ſtipulated for the Honour and Advantage of *Great Britain*, and that particularly reſpecting her Commerce, and the Increaſe of her Naval Strength, and Foreign Dominions. His Lordſhip ſtopp'd here a while, as if he expected I ſhould ſay ſomething to it; but I deſired him to go on, and if he pleaſed, to deſcend to Particulars.

He ſaid, he would give me an Abſtract in Writing of what he had digeſted as proper for the Queen to demand; but that he would be ſo juſt to me, as to let me know what was his own Thoughts only, and what was the Opinion of other People; for he would always tell me plainly, what he ſaid of himſelf, and what he was directed to ſay; upon this, he pulled out two Schemes, and put them into my Hands.

I took them; but before I had opened them, I told him, that as I took theſe as private Papers, only to peruſe for my own Obſervation; ſo he could not expect he and I ſhould debate them, for that would be to enter upon the Negotiation directly; *Well*, ſaid my Lord, *but we may*

talk

talk over them a little: I told him, I did not know whether it might be proper for us to go ſo far or not; but this I would do with his Lordſhip, (*viz.*) That when I had read and conſidered the Demands, I would draw up Heads of a Propoſal on our Part, for him to make the ſame Uſe of, as I did of his Papers: This fully ſatisfied his Lordſhip, and thereupon I opened both his Papers, which I found Docketed thus.

On the one. Propoſals given me by the Queen, but written by Mr. *S*——— own Hand, to be ſhewn to the *Frenchman*.

On the other. My own Scheme of Demands for *England*.

The firſt Paper was as follows.

1. That Reſtitution be made of all that has been taken from the *Engliſh* in *America* during the whole Courſe of the War, and a Compenſation in Money, for the Loſs at *Nevis*, and St. *Chriſtopher's*.

2. That

2. That *Newfoundland* be entirely given up, and the *French* not permitted to carry any Fiſh on the Shore of that Iſland.

3. That the Iſlands, commonly called the *Canaries*, ſhall be delivered to the *Engliſh* entirely, with the Sovereignty thereof.

4. That the City and Forts, Harbour and Puntals of *Cadiz*, ſhall be always gariſoned by the *Engliſh*; the Civil Government, Cuſtoms, and other Revenues, to remain to the King of *Spain*, except 300000 Pieces of Eight yearly, to diſcharge the Pay of the Gariſon, the Expence of the Magazines, and the Repair of the Works; and that in lieu thereof, *Gibraltar* be given back to the King of *Spain*.

5. That a free Trade be granted for the *Engliſh*, to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*.

6. That

6. That the Cuſtoms upon *Engliſh* Munufactures in *Spain*, be aſcertained and reduced.

The ſecond Paper, conſiſting of more moderate Demands, and which my Lord acknowledged to me to be his own, was as follows.

Heads of Conditions to be propoſed to *France* on the Side of *Great Britain*, in Caſe of a Treaty.

1. That the whole Iſland of St. *Chriſtopher's* be put in Poſſeſſion of the Queen of *Great Britain*, in Sovereignty; ſaving nevertheleſs the Property of the Inhabitants, who ſhall become Subjects of the Queen of *England*, and ſhall be allowed to ſtay or depart, ſell and purchaſe, as they ſee fit.

2. That the whole Iſland of *Newfoundland*, be put in Poſſeſſion of the Queen of *Great Britain* in Sovereignty, and the *French* entirely prohibited carrying their Fiſh on Shore in any Part thereof.

3. That

3. That all that has been taken in *America* during the War, except as above, ſhall be reciprocally reſtored, and Priſoners releaſed, except Slaves, which are eſteem'd as Merchandize.

4. That the Iſland of *Minorca*, with the whole Forts, Caſtles, Harbours and Ports, eſpecially *Port Mahon*, be given to her Majeſty in full Propriety and Sovereignty for ever.

5. That the Town of *Gibraltar* and a certian Extent of Land, not exceeding three Miles without the Works, remain to the Queen, *&c.*

6. That certain Conditions ſhall be entred into, with needful Priviledges for the *Engliſh* Merchants, to Contract with the *Spaniards* for the Aſciento, or Trade to *America* in Negroes, with ſuch a limited Trade to *America* as ſhall be agreed.

I told his Lordſhip, on reading his two Papers, That his own was much the more Reaſonable, and Practicable of the Two. He Anſwered, he did not ſee but they were both Practicable, if

the King of *France* thought fit to grant them; but that the Improbability of that had reſtrained his Thoughts in ſeveral Demands that he had conſidered.

I told his Lordſhip I thought they had given their Thoughts a full Latitude, who had contrived the firſt Paper, and that I hardly knew what more they could think of that had the leaſt ſhew of Reaſon in it, or which they could deſire we ſhould Grant.

Yes, ſaid my Lord, I know ſeveral Things we could ask, and which would be very uſeful to us. We could demand you ſhould quit to us the French Colony at *Canada*, and the Fortreſs of *Quebeck*, which is a Thing makes all our Northern Colonies very uneaſy: We could demand the Iſland of *Martinico*, and all your Settlements at St. *Chriſtophers*, or any where elſe in *America*, where you daily give great Diſturbances to our Commerce, and a great many other things. I told his Lordſhip it's true, they might demand what they pleaſed; but there was no Pretence for it, and that which could not reaſonably be Demanded, it might be ſaid it could not be demanded at all.

How-

However, to make my Promiſe good to my Lord, I took the Pen and Ink, and began to write as if I had been an Engliſhman, Thus,

Heads of Demands *on the Part of* Great Britain, *in caſe they make a Peace with* France.

1. That the whole Iſland of St. *Chriſtophers* be put into poſſeſſion of the Queen of *Great Britain* in Sovereignty; ſaving nevertheleſs the Property of the Inhabitants, who ſhall become Subjects of the Queen of *England*, and ſhall be allowed to ſtay or depart, ſell and purchaſe, as they ſee fit.

2. That the whole Iſland call'd *Terra Nova* be reſtored to the *Engliſh* in Sovereignty, but giving the *French* leave to carry their Fiſh on certain Places in the Iſland, ſuch as ſhall be agreed on.

3. That all that has been taken in *America* during the War, except as above, ſhall be reciprocally reſtored, and Priſoners releaſed, except Slaves, which are eſteem'd as Merchandize.

4. That the Iſland of *Minorca*, with the whole Forts, Caſtles, Harbours

and Ports, especially *Port Mahon*, be given to her Majesty in full Propriety and Sovereignty for ever.

5. That the Town of *Gibraltar* and a certain Extent of Land, not exceeding three Miles, without the Works, remain to the Queen, *&c.*

When I presented this Paper, I told him his Lordship might see that I took his Demands to be the most Reasonable, and that I took my rise from the Aim he gave me: But why then, said he, *do you leave out the Article of the Spanish Trade? Our People will be very fond of that Part.*

I told him I would fully satisfy his Lordship in that Point, That as to the Proposal in the first Paper, it was evident it was not proposed with Judgment; for that, should it be granted, it would immediately put the World into Confusion; for the *Spaniards* would never suffer King *Philip* to grant it at all; the *Dutch* would never suffer the *English* to enjoy it exclusive, and the *French* could never agree to let the *Dutch* have it, and see themselves shut out: So that to propose a Free Trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, would not depend upon France to grant; but would be op-

oppoſed by even the Confederates themſelves, and create Jealouſies and Uneaſineſſes among all the People of Europe; and as to his Lordſhip's Articles of ſeperate Agreements with the *Spaniards*, it was a Matter of private Intereſt, which would be proper to be moved when the Treaty was entred upon, and I dare to ſay the King of *France* would not oppoſe it.

All this while we had been only in Confidence, diſcourſing of what might, or might not be the Subject of a Treaty, when ſuch a Thing might be ſet on Foot; but we had not ſo much as named the Manner of introducing a Treaty, which was the main Thing I came about, and which I watch'd an Occaſion to begin, and thought I had found it now; ſo I moved it to him. When his Lordſhip gave an Anſwer, which I did not expect, becauſe I never thought that the New Miniſtry in *England* had been in any Apprehenſions of being Depoſed by Force. My Lord turning ſhort to me ſaid, Pray Sir adjourn that a little further, I have ſomething of Moment to mention ſtill, before I can give you an Anſwer, whether we can treat with you or not, and this I muſt do upon the utmoſt Aſſurance of Secrecy. *My Lord,*

ſaid I, *The Honour the King has done me, in the Truſt now repoſed in me, Qualifies me to expect your Lordſhip will believe me to be* CHOMNUE DE PA, *I aſſure you not a Word of what you ſhall think fit to Communicate to me, ſhall go out of my Mouth, but to the King himſelf.*

Upon this he told me he would open
' himſelf in a Caſe which was of the laſt
' Conſequence, and perhaps very few,
' *if any*, were yet let into it, except the
' Queen and himſelf, and it was this,
' *viz.* That the Whigs were ſo inſolent
' in their Oppoſition to the Queen's
' Meaſures, that it was not without
' ſome Reaſon, that her Majeſty had
' entertained a Notion, that they would
' ſome time or other attempt to force
' her into their own Meaſures; in
' which Attempt they were but too
' certain of Foreign Aſſiſtance, and too
' many of them having Commands in
' her own Armies, might perhaps at-
' tempt to employ her own Troops a-
' gainſt her; preſuming upon their Cre-
' dit with the Soldiery, and reviving
' the old Rebellious Fanatical Notion,
' of *taking up Arms againſt the Authori-*
' *ty of the Sovereign, but not againſt her*
' *Perſon:* That as this was no trifling
' Thing, and her Majeſty had reaſon to

' believe

' believe ſome conſiderable Hands were
' embark'd in it, there was juſt Reaſon
' to ſuppoſe, that upon the firſt Ru-
' mours of a Treaty being on foot with
' *France*, they would make ſome, taking
' ſuch a thing for a popular Handle,
' and a Pretence ſufficient to juſtify what
' ever Violences they might offer to the
' Miniſtry.

' That the Queen had already taken
' Meaſures to blow up ſuch a Deſign,
' and to Support and Defend her Ser-
' vants in the Execution of her Com-
' mands, and would in a very little time
' ſo purge the Army and Fleet; that ſhe
' would have no Man in any conſidera-
' ble Command, but ſuch as might be
' depended upon: *But that*, as ſuch
' things could not be made too ſecure,
' ſo it was not an improper Queſtion to
' ask him, *if they might rely upon ſuch
Aſſiſtance*, upon any Emergency as ſhould
ſupport the preſent Miniſtry in the pur-
ſuit of their Duty, tho' ſuch an incident
ſhould occur as the Surpriſe of the
Queen; and that her Perſon, *which God
forbid*, ſhould be hurried from them,
her Majeſty being reſolved to leave ſuch
Inſtructions under her Royal Authority,
as ſhould juſtify the Miniſters, even in
diſobeying any Orders which ſhould be

iſſued in her Name, or even under her own Hand, unleſs ſhe was at full Liberty to come and go where ſhe pleaſed, and that no Appearance of Reſtraint was upon her.

I was really ſurpriſed at this Motion, and I took the Freedom to aſſure his Lordſhip, that in ſuch a horrid Caſe, *which I told him, yet hoped*, they need not be Apprehenſive of, they might depend upon it, that the King would ſtand by her Majeſty, or her Servants, with all his Forces; and I gave him my Word, that before any Thing was entred upon, and as ſoon as I had had but a little Converſation with his Lordſhip on the Manner of introducing a Treaty, I would return to *France*, that I might Communicate that Point to his Majeſty Perſonally, and would Charge my ſelf with his Anſwer, which I made no doubt would be to his Satisfaction, and that ſuch Meaſures might be taken as would effectually make her Majeſty eaſy on that Subject.

My Lord appeared very well ſatisfied with what I had ſaid upon that Head, and told me, he made no Queſtion, but in a little Time they ſhould be in a better Poſture, and that the Queen would let

the Whigs know, *what it was* to go about to make her uneasy *on* the Throne: *That* it was never known, that Subjects not in actual Rebellion, opposed the Measures of their Sovereign so avowedly, and with so much open Insult; *That it* was impossible Men of Sense could act in the manner that some of them acted in, if they were not encouraged to it by some Persons of a greater Power than themselves: *That* her Majesty was treated by them with the most unsufferable Indecency, and her Ministry with the last Contempt: That some had openly threatned the Treasurer with the Resentment of the Successor, and others had been *so open*, as to speak plainly, that they would take other Measures when the Duke of *Marlborough* came home: That it was time to make Provision for their own Safety, and to put the Queen in a Condition to resent such Treatments, and to Protect her faithful Servants; otherwise no Gentleman would venture to Serve, and she would fall into the Hands of the same People again, which of all things in the World was her greatest Aversion.

I replyed, that as they had Notice of such Things as these, they could not want Means to prevent them; and I need

need not remind him what Courſe other Princes had taken on ſuch like Occaſions, and repeated again the Promiſes of powerful Aſſiſtance from *France*, if her Majeſty's Affairs ſhould require it; concluding, that ſuch an Affair as that ought not to be neglected, but was of the higheſt Conſequence to begin early with.

He anſwered, the Queen relyed on the Vigilance of the Treaſurer, who, as his Intelligence was good to diſcover theſe things, and that he was already Maſter of ſome of their moſt ſecret Conſultations; ſo he went on ſo ſteady in his Meaſures, that he met them at every turn, work't thro' every Difficulty with an intripid Courage, and unexpectedly defeated them in every Attempt they made; but he ſaid their Conſtitution was ſuch in *England*, that no Force could be uſed till ſome Violence was offered; on the other ſide, that in order to prevent their Enemies, they had begun to break ſeveral Officers, and calmly diſtmiſt others whoſe Paſſion had been too warm for their Diſcretion, and that as ſoon as the Duke of *Marlborough* came home, his Commiſſions wou'd be ſuperſeded, and he would be laid by; not that they could believe the Duke

was capable of any thing ſo Diſloyal, as ſome had ſuggeſted, yet as other People boy'd themſelves up with his Name, and depended upon the Influence which he had in the Army, and among the People, it was abſolutely neceſſary to reduce him to a private Condition, to humble thoſe who had folly enough to expect things from him, not fit to be Nam'd : That if the Duke was hardly treated in this, it muſt be eſteem'd a Misfortune, brought upon him by the ill Conduct of thoſe, who would be thought his Friends, ſeeing ſome of the General Officers in the Army had already publickly affronted the Queen, drinking openly to the Confuſion of the New Miniſtry, and pretending to ſtand by their General the Duke of *Marlborough*.

I ſmiled when I heard this, and *anſwered*, that had this been in the Armies of the King my Maſter, thoſe Gentlemen had had little more to do, than to ask the Way to the Baſtile, and ſend for a Prieſt to Confeſs them. That if a due Subordination was not preſerved, Government was deſtroy'd of Courſe. That I would not enquire into the Laws and Uſage of *England*, but I had ſerved in the Field when I was a younger Man,

Man, and I never ſaw any Thing of a diſreſpect to the Sovereign paſs unreſented in the Army in my Life: That Kings and Queens if they loſe their Power to puniſh Inſolence in their Military Men, they became from that Moment Dependants upon their own Servants, and cannot any more be called Sovereigns; I added, that I could not believe the Queen of *Great-Britain* wanted Means to make ſuch Men know themſelves, or wanted Council to direct the Methods proper to proceed by in ſuch Caſes. That I was very glad her Majeſty had taken ſuch vigorous Reſolutions, and that my Lord Treaſurer ſhewed himſelf to be a Man of Council, in ſtriking at the Root, for that nothing was more certain than that the Head of a Faction being removed, the Conſequences were quicker and more effectually upon the reſt.

I would fain have informed myſelf, who the Government had fixed their Thoughts upon, for the Command of the Army after the Duke of *Marlborough* ſhould be removed; for it was a Thing of great Conſequence to our Affairs; but I could not find an Opportunity to mention it, being unwilling in my Conference

rence with this Noble Perſon, to ſhew the leaſt Sign of a Deſire to get Information of Things; for as he dealt with me from the Beginning with great Plainneſs and Sincerity, I contented myſelf with what Diſcoveries came naturally from the reſt of his Diſcourſe, which indeed were not few, but which if I had ſeemed forward to enquire, would have been reſtrained.

I failed not that very Evening to diſpatch a Courier to the King, with this Piece of News, which I knew would be very acceptable; I mean of the Reſolution taken to diſplace the Duke of *Marlborough*, felicitating his Majeſty upon an Event which could not but be fruitful of many Advantages to his Intereſt; and tho' I found, that it would be ſometime before this Reſolution would be put in Execution, yet, as I could eaſily foreſee that their own Circumſtances would oblige them to do it, and that already the Breach was ſo wide between them, that there was no Danger of it being ever made up, but by the Fall either of one Party or other, I was the leſs concern'd for the time; nor was it ſo much material to us upon the Account of who ſucceeded in that

that high Poſt, as it was on the Account of its leſſening the Confidence which the Allies had placed in him, as to Management of the Army, and indeed of all other Affairs, whereby *Great-Britain* being as it were placed at the Head of the Confederacy, they were brought to act, not ſeparately and ſlowly, as formerly, which was the very Thing that conſtantly gave our King the Advantage over them; but vigorouſly and united as one Body of which, the Duke a Politick, a Fortunate Man, being General of the *Dutch* Army as well as of the *Engliſh*, was the Military Head.

Its true, I had the Misfortune to give the King a wrong gueſs at the Man who was to ſucceed, which I took from the talk of the Town, (I mean the Duke of *Argile*) but as I did not give his Majeſty that Account as a Thing done, but only reported, ſo this was known that it was no more than he puſhed for, and expected, and was Irreconcilably diſguſted, for being deny'd it; and the King was the leſs concerned at my Miſtake, becauſe when I had an Opportunity to rectify it, the Perſon who was next named, was ſo much more agreeable to his Majeſty, and gave him ſtill ſo much

much greater hope from the Change, as he had made a Confidence to me, of the Concern they were in about the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the violent Meaſures of the *Whigs*; ſo I told him I muſt communicate ſome Thoughts to him, which concerned the King of *France*, and I hoped they would have the ſame Conſideration for his Majeſty's Intereſt, as they found his Majeſty was ready to have for theirs; that they ſaw the inveterate Fury of ſome Men in the World, againſt that Glory which they never had Opportunity to match before, and how ſome Men were willing to puſh the War to Extremity in hopes by the Deſtruction of Kingdoms, and ſhedding Blood, to enrich and Aggrandize themſelves; that his Majeſty's Deſigns were ſincerely to reſtore Peace to the World, and that not more for Apprehenſions of the Fate of the War, in which it was apparent, he had been the Superior for two Years paſt, altho' it was true, he had ſuffered Loſſes before, but that the Calamities of *Europe* called for ſome Relaxation, *that the Sword might not devour for ever*, tho' nothing was more agreeable to his Majeſty, than to find the Queen entertain the ſame Sentiments of Peace; and that her Majeſty's good Diſpoſitions for putting

ting an End to the War, had the ſame Reaſon and Foundation: That it might not therefore be in the Power of the Allies to fruſtrate their good Deſigns, his Majeſty propoſed this as a Secret Article, (*viz.*) That after the Conditions reſpecting her own Dominions are yielded and agreed to, it ſhall be mutually endeavoured to give reaſonable Satisfaction to the Demands of all the Allies, of which Reaſonableneſs, his Majeſty is content the Queen ſhall be the ſole Judge and Arbitreſs, and which if accepted, the Peace will, according to the Deſire of both their Majeſties, be General and Univerſal; but that if the Allies ſhall refuſe to accept of ſuch Satisfaction as her Majeſty ſhall judge to be reaſonable, and ſhall abſolutely refuſe to put an End to the War, that then and in ſuch Caſe, her Majeſty will withdraw her Forces from the Allies, and declare the Confederacy ſo far at an End, concluding the Peace on the Conditions agreed on for her ſelf, and for ſo many of the Allies as ſhall accept and come into the ſame within 20 Days after; and this his Majeſty Conſents ſhall be a Secret Article.

His Lordſhip told me, he ſaw nothing in this but what was highly Reaſonable,

ſonable, and he would repreſent it accordingly to the Queen.

We had now gone thro' every thing it was deſired we ſhould talk of in this Manner; and I beg'd his Lordſhip that he would give me ſome light into the main Difficulty which I had before me, (*viz.*) how I ſhould make any Propoſal to the Miniſtry; but I was very much ſurpriz'd, when his Lordſhip told me it was impoſſible.

I know not how it came about, nor how they manage their Affairs in *England*, but certainly the Whigs had their Spyes nearer the Queen's Perſon, and Councils, than theſe Men imagin'd; for however, they gave me all the Cautions imaginable; and that on my Side, there was not the leaſt Poſſibility that any Suſpicion could happen, yet ſome how or other the Thing took Air; either the Jealouſy of the Whigs lead them to ſuſpect it, or they charged the Miniſtry with it upon a Preſumption; or they found by the frequent ſecret Meetings of ſome particular Perſons with the Queen, that ſomething Extraordinary was doing, and ſo they gueſt at the reſt, or the Thing itſelf was betray'd to them by one of thoſe who was intruſted;

however it was, I ſay, the Thing took Air, and as the Whigs induſtriouſly improved the Time, it was in a Moment ſpread over the whole Kingdom, that, *the New Miniſtry were carrying on a private Negociation with France.* There wanted not People alſo, who daily ſpread the Report, with ſuch Confidence, as if they had been privy to every Step that had been taken, tho' that they had any Scent of the Thing itſelf as it ſtood, I never ſaw Cauſe to believe. But certainly there is not a Nation in the World like *England*, for impoſing on the People with falſe Rumours, nor a People eaſier to be impoſed upon, even by Things which have not the leaſt Probability, and indeed by ſome that are ſcarce Rational.

This was the Reaſon why when I came to diſcourſe with my Ld---- about the Manner of introducing a Treaty to the Miniſtry, he anſwered that it was impoſſible? *What then have we been doing my Lord*, ſaid I, *and what are we farther to do? I profeſs*, ſays he, *I know not what to ſay to one or other*; and therewith *he* told me, how the Things was blown, and how it was in the Mouth of every one already, that they were making a ſeparate Treaty with

with *France*; that there were private Agents here from the King of *France*; and, in a Word, that the Treaty was concluded, and that they had made a ſeparate Peace.

Would to God, my Lord, ſaid I, *they were not miſtaken who ſay ſo*, I added, that I knew nothing would be more for the Service of *Europe* than that *it were* done, neither could any Thing be more for their Advantage who report it; however they might think they inſult the Queen by the Rumour; and ſpeaking with ſome Warmth, I ſaid, *you have nothing to do*, my Lord, *but to go thro' with it, that they may find their Account, and rejoyce in that very Thing which they pretend to complain of.*

You do not know our People, Sir, ſays my Lord, *they would cut our Throats juſt now, if they could come at the Knowledge of ſuch a Thing.*

I was very much concerned at his ſaying this, *and ask'd him* what was to be done.

He anſwered, that they muſt put all to a ſtop for the preſent, and the Queen muſt publickly diſown ſuch a Thing,

by a formal Speech to the Parliament, declaring that ſhe never intended, and was reſolved not to make a ſeparate Peace, or any Peace at all, but in Conjunction with her Allies.

I reflected on this Occaſion with ſome Concern, upon the miſerable Condition of Princes who govern by the Adminiſtration of contending Parties, and are made to ſpeak, whether true or falſe, what the Heads of thoſe Parties dictate; *now* this Way, *now* that Way, and make all they are thus taught to ſay, paſs as the Reſult of their own Thoughts, and agreeing with their own Judgment, which at the ſame Time had *bona fide* no Concern in it whatſoever.

However, in this Caſe, they had many Ways to ſolve what the Queen was to ſay, as (1) This putting a real Stop to our preſent Negotiations, juſtified her Majeſty's ſaying there was no ſeparate Treaty on Foot. (2) That Part of what we had propoſed, *viz.* That in a Treaty *Satisfaction ſhould be given to all their Allies*, ſupported her Majeſty *in ſaying*, that ſhe would do nothing but *in Participation with all her Allies.*

Whe-

Whether they ever put the Queen upon ſaying theſe Things, either to her Parliament or Council, or otherwiſe, I have not obſerved; perhaps the Conſternation wore off in ſome Time, but it's certain, they were very much alarmed at the Diſcovery of a *Secret Negociation*; the rather, becauſe they began to look on one another with a kind of Jealouſy, which I know not how to deſcribe; as every one was ready to charge the other with having betray'd the Secret, which, notwithſtanding all that was ſaid, I have Reaſon to believe, was never diſcovered at all; *and the rather, becauſe* that when ſome Time after this, a Perſon, who they had Confidence enough in, to ſend over into *France*, to ſet the Affair at work again, began to diſcourſe about theſe Things at *Paris*, it appeared that Perſon had no Knowledge of what had paſſed, or that any Perſon had been in *England* on the ſame Subject. He knew, it ſeems, that ſomething had paſſed between the King and the *Engliſh* Court, but nothing at all of the Manner, or of the Perſons concerned.

I was now at a full Stop for ſome Time, for the Miniſtry in *England* were very uncertain in their Reſolutions, and often Times diſconcerted in their Meaſures,

being embareſſed with the Diviſions among their People, and the Inflamations which their particular Oppoſers raiſed againſt them.

Two Things ſupported them. (1) The Steadineſs of the Queen, guided by her own Averſions to ſome of the other People, and eſpecially by her Reſentments of the Affronts, which it was ſaid had been offered her by ſome of the Women about her Perſon, and (2) the moſt exquiſite Management of the Treaſurer, who being now Abroad again, after the Indiſpoſition, occaſioned by the Wound he had received from Count *Guiſcard*, and purſuing his firſt Schemes, had carried every Point in the Parliament, as well among the Deputies or Commons, as among the Nobility.

I waited 'till theſe Things took their Courſe, and was concerned to ſee the Anxieties, in which the Courtiers very often appeared, eſpecially upon the Niceties of any Vote which was coming on in the Parliament; even the Queen herſelf was ſo concerned for fear Things ſhould ſome Time or other Miſcarry, that ſome of the Ladies about her, frequently reported, that it caſt her into Fits; but if the reſt of the Miniſtry were

were thus Anxious and Concerned, it was my ſettled Obſervation, that the Treaſurer appeared always in the greateſt Tranquility: Whenever he went to the Queen, it was obſerved, he left her Majeſty chearful, tho' ſhe was to the laſt Degree Chagrin, when he came.

It was never my Fate to have any ſecret Conference with this eminent Perſon, during the firſt of my being in *England*: I frequently ſaw him, and had the Honour afterwards of entring into many Diſcourſes with him; but then not at all. He was eaſy of Acceſs at all Times; but it was much eaſier to talk long with him upon trifling and common Occaſions, than to obtain a Moment in ſerious Buſineſs; in ſo much, that I have heard of ſome who have waited upon him, by his own Appointment, on Buſineſs of the greateſt Conſequence, and have been entertained by him, from one Hour to another, on ſome Trifle, 'till at laſt the main Affair has been confined to a Minute or two, or perhaps deferred to another Occaſion.

And yet at that very Time he digeſted all the Affairs of the Adminiſtration,

and ſupported all thoſe difficult Schemes by himſelf, and that with ſo much Cheerfulneſs and Calmneſs, as was ſurpriſing to a Stranger: But it ſeems, others, who afterwards ſupplanted him with the Queen, charged him with meer Indolence and Negligence, and loaded him with Reproaches, for being unconcerned for all his Friends, after he had ſecured his private Intereſts. How it might be ſince I came from *England*, I know not; but when I was there, he was the laſt Reſort in the utmoſt Exigencies, and if the Treaſurer was Eaſy, every one was ſo; the Reputation of his Conduct made every Man Serene, and if he ſmiled, it was ſuppoſed that he knew his Meaſures, and knew more than other Men. How they came to diſpute the Adminiſtration with him afterwards, I know not; but I hear it is agreed on all Hands, that his Reputation declines, and that he is not ſo well with the Queen as he uſed to be; which, however I ſhall not repine at, becauſe I had ſome Reaſon to think him leſs our Friend at Laſt, than I had found him to be at firſt. If this is ſo, I muſt be content to be of their Opinion, who thought he was not ſo Sincere with us, as he ought to have been, and that ſince the Peace (*which he aim'd at for private Reaſons*)

Reaſons) is obtained, he would be for making his Court to the Houſe of *Hanover*, at the Expence of his Miſtreſs, and of all his Friends.

Indeed he acted a moſt wary Part in the Affair of the Peace; for he would ſcarce ever tranſact any Thing himſelf, but put off every Man to confer with other People; contenting himſelf to be the firſt moving Cauſe of every Thing, without being really concerned in any of the Particulars: What the Reaſons of theſe Prudentials were, perhaps Time may diſcover.

However it was, I had not waited long, but the Neceſſities of their own Circumſtances, brought them to entertain ſome Diſcourſes with me again; and I might eaſily perceive the Affair of *Peace* was as abſolutely neceſſary to the Miniſtry in *England*, as it was to the King of *France*, or as it would have been, if the Duke of ------ had been encamped on the Plains of *Compeign*. I remember I had this very Contemplation on the Subject, one Evening, when I received Letters from *France*; wherein the King gave me expreſs Orders to wait quietly, and puſh nothing yet; for *theſe were the Words added by the King's own Hand*:

Hand: The Affair of diſplacing the Duke of M------ *will do all Things for us as we deſire.*

The King's Opinion, which ſeldom fail'd to be right, and which often Times ſhewed, that his Majeſty made a better Judgment of Things at a Diſtance, than his Miniſters could do upon the Spot, *proved right here alſo*; for, *as I ſaid*, the Miniſtry finding nothing could Support them but to quit their Hands of the War, and to have the King of *France* to be their Friend, *took new Meaſures*, and my Lord ------- came to me one Evening, and told me, he deſired to renew the Conferences with me, upon ſome very nice Points. I ſeemed leſs forward than formerly; *tho' not ſo as to give him any Offence*; and I let him know, that I thought we had given ourſelves a great deal of Trouble laſt Time, about nothing: He ſaid, *that was true*, but I might eaſily ſee they could not avoid it, and that their Circumſtances *were ſuch*, that they could by no Means act otherwiſe than they did; that I ought not to take it ill, becauſe it was plain, it was neither want of Reſpect to me, or want of a ſincere deſire to come to Terms of *Peace, which was the happy End I was employed to bring to paſs*; but that they had ſo many

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Eyes upon them, and ſo many Enemies about them, that it was abſolutely Neceſſary for them to break off all Correſpondence; and particularly, becauſe they ſuſpected there was ſome Body among them that was not true to the reſt, *and that very near the Queen too*, and yet with all their Induſtry, they could not tell who to Charge, no not ſo much as who to Miſtruſt.

That it had been ſuggeſted, that the Duke of *S-----t* was the Perſon, or his Dutcheſs; but ſays my Lord, *We could not ſuſpect him, becauſe we had communicated nothing to him*, and *the Queen would not let us ſo much as think it poſſible of his Wife*; nay, *when ſhe was but named*, the Queen *declared ſhe would anſwer for her, and bid us ſay no more about it.*

That for this Reaſon, they were afraid of every Body, tho' they could Charge no Body, and being very uneaſy at the Rumour of a Treaty, they were obliged to give it over for a while; but that now they had reſolved to have the Rumour ſpread on their Side, while there was really nothing doing, that the Whigs might be amuſed with Generals, and be able to dive into no Particulars.

I can-

I cannot ſay, but as they were ſtated in *England* at this Time, this was a good Thought enough, and they purſued it as well; for they cauſed Reports to be ſpread in *Holland*, of a Negotiation privately ſet on foot in *England*, and that it was avowedly carried on by the Miniſtry, tho' they concealed the Perſons they treated with: That there were two *French* Agents come to *London*, who appeared publickly, tho' without any Character, and as theſe Rumours were continually cultivated, they came at length to Report, That the ſaid Negotiations went very well on, that the Peace advanc'd apace, and that it was expected, in a few Days, the Miniſtry would declare themſelves upon it: Nor was this all; but they went on to give about privately, *Schemes of the Peace itſelf*, and Heads of the Preliminary Articles, quite remote from the real Things of which we had diſcourſed, and yet calculated to employ the Speculations of the People, and prompt them to diſcourſe frequently of the Thing.

Nor was this all, but as all publick News flies from ſhore to ſhore, Letters were written every Poſt of it from *Holland*, and the Dutch were made uneaſy to the laſt Degree; nay ſo perfectly was the

the true Deſign covered, that an Agent the Court of *France* had at the *Hague*, wrote to the Court about it, as of a Thing certain, and the King himſelf ſeem'd a little amuſed about it, knowing what Order I had, and how conſtantly I had acquainted him with the full Stop we had been at for ſome Time, and how I had received his Majeſty's Order to let it continue in that Poſture for a while: But it was not many Days before I gave his Majeſty the Ecclairciſſement in that Affair, and the King was exceedingly pleaſed with the Stratagem, and indeed his Majeſty had Reaſon.

It was the pleaſanteſt Thing in the World, to ſee how all the Confederates were alarmed at thoſe Rumours. The Envoys and Reſidents at *London*, were tormented with the Reproaches of their Maſters, who complained, that having ſent them to reſide at the *Britiſh* Court, to take Care of their Intereſt, they ſhould ſit ſtill, and let a Negotiation of that Conſequence go on in ſo publick and open a Manner, and give them no Notice of any of the Particulars, nor ſo much as write for further Inſtructions how to act on ſuch an Occaſion. Upon this they came buzzing about the Court,

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were Inquiſitive, Uneaſy, and ſo Importuning, that had it not been diverting to the Miniſtry on another Account, it would have made them very uneaſy.

I ſhould have mentioned, That not only theſe Rumours were raiſed in *Holland*; but Letters written, as if coming from the *Hague*, were ſecretly ſent to the Writers of the publick *Gazettes*, and of News Prints in the City of *London*, who printed openly in their Articles from the *Hague*, the Account given there of the Progreſs made in *England*, in the Secret Negociations of Peace, and ſome Times a Sketch of the Articles they were upon.

This being Printed in *England*, and no Enquiry made of the Writer, to puniſh him for ſuch an open Publication, or to demand his Authority for it, left the People Abroad no room to doubt of the Truth of Fact. It is impoſſible to diſcribe the Confuſion the Whig Party were in; the Great ones, and thoſe of the moſt Penetration, could make nothing of it, the Miniſtry denyed it with all poſſible Seriouſneſs, as well they might; all the Vigilance, all the Obſervation, and Conjectures, all the Spies and ſecret Attempts for a Diſco-

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very in this Matter came to nothing: The Court was ſtill and quiet, the Miniſtry appeared buſied upon other things; nor was there the leaſt Appearance of any Thing of this Kind; *for the Truth was*, that not one Step was all this while taken in the Matter.

When this had wearied the World ſome Time, and as they thought long enough, my old Correſpondent gave me Notice, that he would meet me again: When we were together, he began merrily with this Part; Well Monſieur, ſays he, *How do you like this laſt Puſh; my Lord*, ſays I, *I think it is a Maſter-piece, and has done more than all that ever you have ſaid or done before*; all the Confederates think you have made the Peace, I know nothing to do now, but to be ſo kind to them, as to convince them, that they are not miſtaken: *Let that be as it will*, ſays my Lord, we have yet the Pleaſure of reproaching them with injuriouſly charging us, when we have no Hand in any ſuch Thing, and if we bring their Predictions to paſs, we only do that which they abuſed us for, and we cannot, I think, do them a greater Piece of Juſtice, than do make good what they have with ſo much Confidence, charged us with doing.

I told

I told his Lordſhip he knew the Diſpoſition of thoſe People better than I; that as to the Temper of Parties in *England*, I thank'd God, it was new to me, that we knew no ſuch Thing in *France*; that I had hear'd much in *France*, of the Happineſs of the People of *Great Britain*, on Account of the Liberty they enjoy'd; but that I could not be perſwaded to be of the Opinion, that to have the People above Government, or without Government, was to be called Liberty, or was capable of being thought Happineſs; that it was true, our Kings were Abſolute, and in that Reſpect, might in their Language be call'd Tyrants; but that I had rather be under any Tyranny, than that of Parties; that however, this was nothing to our Purpoſe; that his Lordſhip knew what Part I had to act, and that I was ready to take my Meaſures from his Directions.

He reply'd in ſhort, *Truly Sir, I am very ill able to direct you, proceed juſt as you pleaſe, we will do any Thing as becomes us.*

My Lord, ſaid I, *if you give me Leave to appear in Publick, I'll wait on the Secretary of State, and produce my Credentials, and declare I come as an Envoy from the*

the Moſt Chriſtian King, to make her Majeſty Propoſals of Peace, and demand an Audience.

We are very unhappy, ſays my Lord, *That in ſuch a Caſe no Man durſt be civil to you; we ſhould be obliged by meer Jealouſy, even to treat you as rudely as the* Dutch *did, and perhaps putting a Guard upon you, convey you to* Dover, *and ſet you on ſhore at* Calais.

What then muſt we do my Lord, ſaid I, *muſt I go back to the King, and tell him the Queen will hearken to no Treaty, but that the War muſt go on.*

No Sir, ſays he, *not that neither, we are reſolved to agree with you if we can; but we muſt do it our own Way, and know not what Way that is neither.*

I muſed a while upon this, uncertain what to ſay, or to do: I conſidered that all this was not a Matter of Ceremony, but of Neceſſity; that I ſaw the Court was not only Sincere in the Deſign of Peace, but earneſtly for it, (*and perhaps ruined without it*) ſo I deſired my Lord to conſider 'till the next Evening, when we were to meet, and that I would do ſo too.

Accordingly at the next Meeting he told me with an Air of Satisfaction, that he had found out a Medium, *which was this*, that I ſhould return to *France*, that a private Gentleman ſhould come into *France* without any Character, but as a Foreigner to ſatisfy his Curioſity; and that he ſhould be deſired there to bring a Meſſage from the Secretary of State, or from the King, to her Majeſty, ſignifying, *THAT, his Majeſty was inclined to make reaſonable Propoſals to the Queen of* Great Britain, *in Behalf of herſelf and all her Allies, in order to prevent the further Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, and to put an End to the Calamities of* Europe: *And that it was his Majeſty's Deſire, that a Perſon ſhould be admitted to come over to* England *to make ſuch Propoſals.*

That upon receiving ſuch a Meſſage, her Majeſty will return for Anſwer, that, *as nothing was more her Deſire, than to bring this bloody War to an happy and laſting Peace,* upon juſt and honourable Conditions; *ſo ſhe was very glad to hear his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was inclined to make reaſonable Propoſals for that End; that if any ſuch were made to her Majeſty, ſhe would communicate them to her Allies; and ſhe hoped his Majeſty would cauſe ſuch Propoſals to be made, as*

might

might give a reaſonable Satisfaction to all the Allies, without which, her Majeſty could do nothing in it: This was the Reſult of all our Conferences at that time, and this was no more or leſs, than the Beginning of the Journey of the famous Mr. *Prior*, who came into *France* upon this Errand; and although ſome Diſcourſes were publiſhed to the World, of a long Negociation had with him here; I believe thoſe Accounts to be fictitious; at leaſt, there was neither Room or Occaſion for any ſuch Negociations, as ever I knew, all Things being ſettled before he came, *as above.*

That he was treated with Diſtinction, may be true, as alſo, that he had the Honour to wait upon the King, and was frequently with the Marquiſs de *Torcy*, and others, between whom, Diſcourſes on the Subject of a Peace, might be very natural to the Occaſion, but that he appeared in a private Capacity, and could enter into no Treaty; I may ſay, nothing of granting or denying, demanding or inſiſting, could be in Reality the Subject of their Diſcourſe; if Mr. *Pr—r* aſſumed the Liberty of making Demands, its what I never heard of in *France*, and what the Miniſtry always diſown'd,

and even rediculed, when I was afterwards in *England*.

The Buſineſs which that Gentleman appeared for in *France*, as far as I was acquainted with it, and as was concerted with my Ld---- as before; was no other than to come back, and let the Miniſtry know in *England*, that having been in *France* on his private Occaſions, for which he had obtain'd a Paſs at ſuch a Time from the Marquiſs de *Torcy*, and likewiſe another in *England*; he had been deſired by the ſaid Monſieur de *Torcy*, to deliver a Meſſage to her Majeſty, or to her Secretaries of State by Word of Mouth, (*viz.*) *that as the moſt Chriſtian King deſired nothing more, than to contribute all his Endeavours to the re-eſtabliſhment of a general Peace*; his Majeſty *was inclined to make reaſonable Propoſals to the Queen, in Behalf of herſelf, and all her Allies*, &c. as before, if her Majeſty *would pleaſe to receive the ſame*.

With this Meſſage it ſeems Mr. *Prior* charged himſelf, and as the Story was told in *England*, returned thither Incognito, but was ſtopt at his Landing near *Dover*, and detain'd by a Cuſtom-Houſe Officer, notwithſtanding he had a paſs from the Secretaries of State.

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Were it not that the People of *England* are the eaſieſt to be impoſed upon of any Nation in the Univerſe, when the Story that is told them ſuits the Part they Eſpouſe, this Story could never have paſt in the World; it was a very improbable Thing, that an Officer of the Cuſtoms, ſhould ſtop a Perſon who had a Paſs in Form from the Secretary of State, and I was aſſured afterwards, that this Method of making Publick, the bringing a Meſſage from *France*, was concerted by the Miniſtry who knew beſt what Purpoſes it was to ſerve.

Be that as it will, when Mr. *Prior* was thus known to have been in *France*, it was no longer a Secret, that he had brought ſuch a Meſſage, and perhaps this was the Reaſon of making his coming from thence Publick, to which it was alſo reaſonable to add, that the Queen had given ſuch an Anſwer as before, which Anſwer, none could object againſt, (*viz.*) that, *as nothing was more her Majeſty's Deſire than to bring this bloody War to an happy and laſting Peace*, upon juſt and honourable Conditions; *ſo ſhe was very glad to hear his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was inclined to make reaſonable Propoſals for that End; and if any ſuch were made to her Majeſty, ſhe would communicate them*

to her Allies, and ſhe hoped his Majeſty would cauſe ſuch Propoſals to be made, as might give a reaſonable Satisfaction to all the Allies; without which her Majeſty could do nothing in it.

It was added to this Anſwer, in her Majeſty's Name, THAT *Leave ſhould be given to ſuch Perſons as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould appoint, to bring ſuch Propoſals, which ſhould be received* AD REFERENDUM; *but that ſuch Perſons ſhould do no more, than deliver ſuch Propoſals, and ſhould not be admitted to enter into any Negotiations thereupon, or on any other Subject whatſoever.*

During theſe Tranſactions, I received his Majeſty's Leave to return to *Paris*, where I gave him a particular Account of all my Management, and had the Honour to have the King ſay, *that it was to his Satisfaction.* I entred, by his Order, in the next Place, upon ſome Explanations of the Preliminary Heads, which I had diſcourſed of with my Lord----, and took the King's Obſervations upon them in Writing, for my Government in *England*, for it was very ſoon after my return to *Paris*, that the King let me know, that as ſoon as he had the Queen's Anſwer to the general Offer, of making

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Propoſals, I ſhould go to *England* again, in order to carry the Propoſals concerted before. And,

This was not long, for as every Thing was adjuſted before, what remained, was *for Form ſake*, to put the Thing into a regular Way.

Malice has generally a ſhrew'd Gueſs, and they who ſpeak worſt, oftenest *ſpeak* Truth. I could not but ſmile when I came into *England*, and found the Propoſals were received in Form, Adjuſted, and made Publick; *of which I ſhall ſay more preſently*, to ſee thoſe People who oppoſed the Miniſtry there, enraged to the laſt Degree; Satyrs were every where publiſhed, not only againſt the Propoſals, but againſt the general Notion of making *Peace* at all; among which, this was remarkable, and it is for the Sake of this, that I mention it, *viz.* That they upbraided the Miniſtry with having kept a private Intelligence, *Traytorous they call'd it*, with the Court of *France* for a long Time, contrary to their Engagements to the Allies, and affirm'd confidently, that the Pretence of receiving Propoſals from *France*, and entring into a Treaty, was a *Comedy*, or rather a *Farce*, which

they put themſelves to the Trouble to act, only to amuſe the People, that they might with as much Reaſon, and more Honeſty, have told the Confederates, that the Queen having agreed with *France*, upon ſuch Conditions for herſelf, and her Dominions, as ſhe thought fit, the Confederates were at Liberty to do the ſame, or let it alone, as they thought fit; that they had left them all at full Liberty to ſhift for themſelves, and get the beſt Terms that *France* thought fit to grant.

It muſt be confeſſed, that this was very true in the Subſtance, tho' not in all the Particulars; but there were two Things very odd in it. (1) How theſe People came to know this to be true, *if they did know it*, and (2) how they came to gueſs ſo punctually, if they did not.

If they had really known it, I thought they would alſo have known ſome of the Particulars, which I never could perceive they had any Intimation of, except the Time, and that they had to a Day, (*viz.*) the very Day when my Lord ——— and I exchanged our Papers of Propoſals; but for other Circumſtances, I never hear'd that they named any, which one may ſay they would not

not fail to have done, if it had been in their Power.

However, this was the general News of the Whig Party in *England*, at the Appearance of the Preliminaries, (*viz.*) That the Miniſtry had made a private and ſeparate Peace with *France* ſeveral Months before the Preliminaries appeared, and that the Allies were betrayed, the publick Faith broken, the Honour of Treaties violated in the breaking of the Confederacy, and the Grand Alliance diſſolved, and much more to that Purpoſe,

I do not take Notice of the Affairs of that unquiet People, more than Neceſſity obliges; therefore, I ſay nothing of the Conſequences of theſe Things to themſelves, whatever common Fame had charged them with, as unfair in this Matter, the Miniſtry and the Queen herſelf were of another Opinion: *Alſo*, I am obliged to ſay, *that I think they had Reaſon*; for tho' it's true, that in Caſe the Preliminaries were adjuſted, and a Treaty followed, the Queen had her Terms ſettled, as was afterwards the Caſe, yet it was in her Majeſty's Agreement, that thoſe Terms ſhould not take Place, or her Majeſty be obliged

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by them, if the General Peace had not enſued.

But this was to be allowed, as I noted already, that if the Endeavours of the Queen, to bring the Allies to a Treaty, ſhould prove ineffectual, and it ſhould appear, that they ſtood obſtinately out, againſt a Propoſal ſo juſt, as that of having all their reaſonable Demands fully ſatisfied by a Treaty, *which would be indeed puſhing the War, for love of it*, that then the Queen would withdraw herſelf from the Alliance, and would adhere to the Terms agreed on for herſelf, and all ſuch of her Allies as ſhould think fit to accept the ſame. THIS was the *Secret Article* on our Side, which I mentioned before, and which was ſo reaſonable, that it could not be diſputed; eſpecially, ſince by that Separate Article, the Queen was made Judge of what ſhould, or ſhould not, be eſteemed a *reaſonable Satisfaction*.

This was that well known and happy Clauſe, which occaſion'd the *Britiſh* Troops the next Year to withdraw from the Confederate Army in *Flanders*; and which together with their own ill Conduct, and the ſuperior Fortune of the *French*, brought the *Dutch* into the *Peace*, and

and in Conſequence of that, put an End to the whole War.

I was now order'd back into *England*, from whence, I had not been long Abſent, and was preparing for my Journey, when the King ſent me Orders to go to the Court of St. *Germains*, and take Inſtructions there, for ſome Things which I was to charge myſelf with in my Journey to *England*.

I obey'd, and attended at *St. Germains* the next Morning, and was no ſooner entred the Lodgings of the Queen Dowager of *England*, but the Earl of *Middleton* met me, and told me he had expected me ſome Time, that the Queen had ask't for me twice; and that her Majeſty was in her Cloſet, and he was ready to introduce me.

Being brought in, after having the Honour to kiſs her Majeſty's Hand, ſhe was pleaſed to tell me, ſhe knew I was going to *England* upon a ſecret and important Negotiation; that ſhe wiſhed me good Speed, and was reſolved to expect that I would take Care of her Affairs, and thoſe of her Son; adding, that my Lord *Middleton* would diſcourſe further

further with me about it, ſo I paid my Obeyſance and withdrew.

My Lord and I diſcourſed together a good while, and he ſhewed me ſeveral Schemes which they had laid; ſome for an Attempt upon *England*, during *the Life of the Queen*, and ſome for the like *after her Death*; I told him, I could not think his Majeſty would have me charge myſelf with a Negociation, for an Attempt on the Queen of *England's* Dominions, *during her Life*, at the ſame Time that I was forming a Secret Treaty of Amity and Reconciliation; that it was an Action very diſhonourable, and that the King's whole Reign had never been ſtained with any Thing like it.

My Lord *Middleton* is a Perſon eminent for nothing in the Eſteem of the *French*, but his having been long an Exile with the late King of *England*: He is the unfitteſt for a prime Miniſter of all the Men I have known, eſpicially if what his own Countrymen ſay of him is true, (*viz.*) that he is not able to give Counſel, and is too proud to ask it; indeed, his poſitive and unruly Temper has had the Misfortune to be the moſt unguarded; and I have ſeen

him

him expoſing himſelf and his Schemes in the moſt unaccountable Manner; he has this Peculiar however attending him, to mortify the hautieſt Temper in the World, (*viz.*) *that nothing that was undertaken by his Advice ever ſucceeded.* It was ſaid he adviſed his Maſter King *James* to make that moſt diſhonourable Attempt upon the Life of the Prince of *Orange*; and that the Scheme for Aſſaſſination of that Prince, for which Monſ. *Granval* was executed in *Flanders*, was of his forming, *which if true*, would add very little to his Fame; that Contrivance being as fooliſh in its Scheme, as it was villanous in its Practice; a Thing juſtly abhorred by all Chriſtian Princes, tho' againſt their worſt Enemies. I could give innumerable Inſtances of the weakeſt things in the World, which he put that unfortunate Prince upon, which cauſed him neceſſarily to miſcarry: If he had any Share in the Councils of that King, before he ſo prepoſterouſly left his own Kingdoms, that would be a Reaſon to me, why I ſhould the leſs wonder at many things which were done, that no wiſe Prince ever did before him.

It was impoſſible for me to convince this Perſon, that while I was employed by the King, on a ſecret Commiſſion to the

the Queen of *England*, and *was if poſſible* to reſtore the good Underſtanding between them, which at this Juncture alſo was neceſſary to his Majeſty's Affairs; it was not reaſonable to believe his Majeſty would ſuffer ſuch a Project; as his was to go forward, much leſs, that I ſhould negociate ſuch a thing in the Dominions of a Queen, who we were going to make a Friend of; however, I intreated him not to preſs me on that Head, till I had laid it before his Majeſty, and received his Commands thereupon; I told him alſo, that it was diſhonourable to the King to ſuggeſt ſuch a Thing of him; and I believ'd his Majeſty would be very much diſpleas'd at it; that if her Majeſty the Queen Dowager commanded me to uſe my Endeavours to ſettle the Intereſt of her Son *the Chevalier*, with the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and to ſee what Steps could be taken, for the ſecuring the Succeſſion to him after her Death, I would not fail to ſerve her to the utmoſt of my Power, and that I had ſome Reaſon to believe I might have Succeſs in ſuch a Negociation; but that the other was not at all fit for a Man of Honour under my Circumſtances to be engaged in, and therefore I deſired to be excuſed.

I ſtuck

I ſtuck here, but was obliged to be even rude with him, before I could get from him, for all my Arguments were of no weight with him. As ſoon as I left him, I went directly to the King, who I found expected me, and with the greateſt Exactneſs, laid before him, as well what was deſired of me, as on what Grounds I had declined it, and what I had offered to do.

The King was exceedingly mov'd when I told him this Story, and expreſſing his Deteſtation of the Propoſal, told me, I ſhould go no more to St. *Germains*, which I was very glad of, tho' I did charge myſelf afterwards, with his Majeſty's Leave, with the other Branch of that Affair, as far as could conſiſt with the Work I had in Hand, and propoſed to render her Majeſty ſome Service, and her Son alſo, only as far as moving the Queen of *Great Britain* and her Miniſters, to eſpouſe that Intereſt, for the Time, after her Majeſty and her Heirs, of which I ſhall have Occaſion to ſay more.

This breaking off ſo abſolutely, might, for ought I know, be the Reaſon of the ſending the Abbot *Gualtier* over in ſpecial Commiſſion, to negotiate that Affair; with whom I had ſe-

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veral Diſcourſes, both in *England* and *Holland*: But as it was a Negociation, which had very little Probability in it, as he deſigned to manage it, ſo I endeavoured to concert as little as poſſible with him, any Meaſures about it; nor can I give any Account ſuitable to the Exactneſs of my Method, of the ſeveral Conſultations which he had about that Affair, which makes me take leſs Notice of it here, than otherways I would have done.

The Abbot, as I was informed, had perſwaded himſelf to believe, that if he could get Admittance to a private Conference with the Queen; I ſay he fancied, if he had but even Liberty of ſpeaking his Mind to her Majeſty, tho' there were others preſent, he ſhould be able to give her ſuch an Account of the dying Expreſſions of her Father, the late King of *England*, ſuch Teſtimonies of the preſent King *James's* being really his Son, and of his proteſting his Satisfaction of his being born of the Queen's Body, that he was ſatisfied would touch the Queen in ſo ſenſible a Manner, as that her Majeſty would be the leſs able to reſiſt the Arguments he would bring afterwards to prove, that ſhe could never enjoy the King-

dom of Heaven, without She delivered up the Crown to him *whoſe Right it is.*

I do confeſs, I was ſurpriſed to hear the Abbot *Gualtier* ſhould ſpeak thus, who is an Eccleſiaſtick of the Catholick Church, ſeeing it had been firſt neceſſary for him to have acknowledg'd, that her Majeſty might enjoy the Kingdom of Heaven, while ſhe continued out of the Catholick Church, altho' ſhe had, with reſpect to the Caſe in Hand, reſtored the Crown to her Brother; and that therefore a Propoſal of that kind was fit for none to inſiſt upon, but a Proteſtant, or Hugonet, whoſe Arguments would not have been liable to the ſame Exception: But I had no Reaſon to have made that Difficulty, if I had conſider'd who the Propoſal came from, and that ſome Men are ſo opinionated, that they will ſupport their own Notions, tho' with the groſſeſt Abſurdities.

However, as the *Abbot Gualtier* was charged with other Negociations than this, when he was in *England*, he had Room, I ſuppoſe, to ſatisfy himſelf, that the Method propoſed, *if he did propoſe it*, was impracticable enough. I have heard indeed, that he did make the Attempt; but that there was not a Man amongſt

the Perſons of Publick Buſineſs, who he had converſed with, that would bear ſo much as to ſtay in the Room with him, while he talked of it; much leſs undertake to give him an Opportunity to move it to the Queen, nor indeed could he expect they ſhould: But thus it often is, when our Eccleſiaſticks turn Politicians.

I was now juſt ready to go over to *England*; the Probability of Succeſs in my Negociations increaſed every Day, and the Marſhal *Tallard* preſs'd the King by Letters every Poſt, to make a Beginning, for that the Miniſtry in *England* ſeemed in a Condition, ſomething tending to a Criſis, and that they would very ſoon be paſt Help, or in a Circumſtance above the Occaſion of it; which would be equally prejudicial to his Majeſty's Intereſt.

Before I went, the King ſent for me, and receiving me with an uncommon Chearfulneſs, *Meſnager*, ſays his Majeſty, I am putting the greateſt Piece of Confidence in you, that it is poſſible for any Man to be truſted with, and you carry the Fortune of *France* in your Hand: If you manage this Point well, you ſerve me and ſave your Country; I need

give

give you no other Inſtructions than you have already, except in two Things. Firſt, as to the ſecret Demands of Aſſiſtance, in caſe the Queen ſhould be inſulted by her own Subjects, aſſure her Majeſty, all the Forces of *France* ſhall be at her Service in ſuch a Caſe; 'And if 'it may be to render her Service, I'll 'come in Perſon, *as old as I am*, with a 'Hundred Thouſand Men, to ſupport 'her; I charge you tell her theſe very 'Words.

'The other Thing, *continued his Ma-'jeſty*, relates to the young King here: 'It will be acceptable to me, if you 'can render him any Service; and e-'ſpecially, if you can bring the new 'Miniſtry and the Queen into his In-'tereſt, and make Way for his being 'placed on the Throne, after the Queen; 'but remember, if the main Affair of the 'Treaty requires it, *and the Queen inſiſts 'upon it*, you muſt give him up to his 'better Fortunes, we muſt not be ruined 'on his Account, *entender Vous*, ſays the King twice together, *do you under-ſtand me*; I bowed, and told his Majeſty, I perfectly underſtood his Mind, and thought alſo, that I ſaw his Intereſt in that Particular, and would make both the Rule of my Conduct. I beg'd his

Majeſty, that I might have frequent Inſtructions, as any Thing offered, which the King told me ſhould be done, and giving me his Hand to kiſs, diſmiſs'd me, and I ſet out Poſt the ſame Evening for *Calais*.

I arrived at *London*, about the Beginning of *September*, 1711, but did not appear publickly, till ſome days after; however, I ſignified to my old Correſpondent, my Lord -----, That I was arrived, and that I made no Queſtion I was furniſhed ſufficiently to conclude the Great Work, to the Satisfaction, as well of the Queen of *Great Britain*, and the King my Maſter, as of all the Lovers of Peace in both Nations, and that I left it to his Lordſhip to give Directions in what Manner, and at what Time I ſhould make myſelf known.

My Lord detained the Gentleman I ſent with this Meſſage near two Hours, which afterwards, as I underſtood, was 'till he had diſcourſed with another Perſon, and then taking him into his Coach, came directly to me. I was a little ſurpriſed at the Stay he made; but my Lord made an Excuſe for it, which was very obliging.

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We immediately enter'd upon the Buſineſs; and I ſhewed him the Heads of our Propoſals, both as we left 'em in our former Diſcourſe, and as they ſtood now; that I had brought them over new modell'd; wherein ſome things were added againſt my Inclination, and ſuch as I told the King expreſſly, would not go down in *England*, and were indeed not fit to be propoſed; *whereof, one was* relating to the Article mentioned already, *viz.* That if the Confederates ſhould ſtand out obſtinately againſt the Treaty, notwithſtanding that the Satisfaction his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould offer to them, was found to be reaſonable, *that then Her Majeſty ſhould withdraw from the ſaid Confederates, and would adhere to the Terms adjuſted for herſelf*, &c. To this ſome of our wiſer Heads in *France* had prevailed with the King to add as follows, *viz. That if after her Majeſty had ſo withdrawn from the* Alliance, &c. *if the ſaid Confederates did not come into the General Peace within one Year, but continued to carry on the War; that then the* Queen *ſhould act with all her Forces, in Conjunction with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to oblige them to accept of the reaſonable Satisfaction aforeſaid.*

My Lord complained of this Article, as well for the Subſtance of it, as the Manner of its being put in, and told me, it was not only in vain to offer it, but that it was needleſs, and of no Value; and that it could be of no Service to us in *France* to have it, nor any Injury to leave it out; but that on the contrary, all we could propoſe would fall in of Courſe without it, and yet, that *to offer it*, would be *to put an End to the whole Treaty*; for that not only they were aſſured the Queen would not hear it, but that no Miniſter of State durſt propoſe it to her, and if any one ſhould adviſe the Queen to ſuch a Thing, he would be certain, in the next Parliament, to be voted an Enemy to his Country, and perhaps ſent to the Tower; *which is the Baſtile in that Country.*

I was really very ſorry I had this Clog upon my Commiſſion, and eſpecially, becauſe nothing of this kind was mentioned, when Mr. *P*-----*r* was in *France*; which if it had, not unlikely, but I had been excuſed the Trouble of a Journey to *England*, and ſometimes I thought, that it was done on Purpoſe, to render my Attempt Abortive, that another might have the Honour to finiſh the Negociation which I had begun,

gun. Who it was ſhould owe me ſuch an ill Turn, I could not imagin; but it gave me a great Uneaſineſs for ſome Days.

In the mean Time, my Lord and I went into the Detail of this Clauſe; firſt he fell foul on the Article itſelf, *and tho' in reſpectful Terms*, told me, it was abſurd, weak, and not fit to be offered; he was pleaſed in Compliment to tell me, that he durſt ſay, I had no Hand in putting it into the Propoſals, and that they who did it, ſhew'd they knew little of the Affairs of *England*, much leſs as they were ſtated at that time; that it was enough to raiſe a Mob all over the Kingdom againſt the Miniſtry, the Rage of whom they ſhould be very ill able to withſtand; nay, *and as things now ſtood*, the Queen herſelf might not be able to protect them; that I was to conſider the different Intereſts of the two Nations, as to Religion, and how warm the People of *England* always were on that Head; what a Handle it would give on that Account to the Whigs, and how popular they would make their Oppoſition be to the Miniſtry by that one Clauſe, that in a word, it would bring the common People as one Man into the other Intereſt; bring the Miniſtry into the ut-

moſt Contempt, and at Length the Queen would be obliged to ſacrifice them to her own Safety.

Upon the Whole he told me, he muſt be very plain with me, that if I could not go from that Article in my Propoſals, I had nothing to do, but take my Leave, and think of returning to *France*; for it was a thing they durſt neither ſhew to the Queen, or the People.

Beſides, he told me he thought it was entirely uſeleſs, and to no Manner of Purpoſe; for that nothing was more certain than this, that if the Confederates abſolutely rejected a Treaty, and reſolv'd to carry on the War, it would firſt or laſt bring *England* into the War, or bring *France* out of a Condition to want Aſſiſtance; for firſt, if the Confederates were Victorious, it could not be expected that they would be long, before they ſhew'd their Reſentment at *England*, and *Great Britain* would be obliged to prevent the Ruin of *France*, leaſt they ſhould be forced to come to Blows with the Confederates for deſerting them: On the other hand, if *France* having the *Britiſh* Forces withdrawn from their Enemies, ſhould be Victorious, the Reaſon of the Article would ceaſe; theſe Arguments

were

were indeed of ſuch Force, that I could not withſtand them, ſo I deſired we might let that Part reſt till laſt, and that we might enter upon the reſt, which he agreed to.

I failed not to repreſent this Matter at large to the King, and diſpatch'd it that very Night, entreating his Majeſty to accept of my Opinion in the Matter, (*viz.*) that I muſt remit that Part of the ſeparate Article, and inſiſt no more on it, or that no Treaty could be made; and that if this Opportunity was loſt, it was very probable the Miniſtry in *England*, who his Majeſty knew were diſpoſed to his Intereſt, would be reduced, and the Queen be obliged to abandon them; and that then there was nothing to be expected, but from God and his Majeſty's Sword: I omitted nothing to give the King a true State of the whole Affair, and left the Reſult to his Majeſty's Pleaſure.

It is the delightfuleſt Thing in the World to ſerve ſuch a Maſter, as the King of *France*, no Prince in the World allows his Agents more Freedom to give their Opinion in the Affairs they negociate, or gives thoſe Freedoms and Opinion more Weight: The King took every thing

thing I wrote juſt as I meant it, weigh'd the Particulars, agreed to my Opinion, and gave me expreſs Orders to inſiſt no more on that Part.

There was little elſe in the Propoſals which gave us any Difficulty, ſo I was admitted to appear in Publick: I took Lodgings near St. *James's*, where the Court is kept, in the Street call'd *Pall-mall*; where it was no ſooner rumour'd that a *French* Miniſter of State, *ſuch they were pleaſed to call me*, was arrived and lodg'd there, but the Rabble gather'd about the Door, and grew very troubleſome: I was not apprehenſive of any Thing; but it ſeems it was heard of at Court, and my Lord ---- himſelf with two or three Perſons of Quality came immediately down to my Lodgings, they obliged me to ſtay within Doors all Day; and in the Evening I was led out thro' a private Way, into another Part of the Town, where I had Lodging provided for me, that were very convenient, having a back Door into the Park, and where I was very eaſy; I made my Addreſſes to ſuch Perſons as it was proper, in which I took my Rule from my Lord ---- But having no Occaſion for Audience, as an Envoy, I ſaw not the Queen, except in private; I waited

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ſeveral Times on the High Treaſurer, and had frequent Meetings at his Houſe, the Secretaries of State, and other Perſons being preſent, but we rather diſcourſed than adjuſted any thing there.

I muſt acknowledge my Negociation in *England*, has given me a mean Idea of the People of Buſineſs there, I mean Court Buſineſs; the Methods they carry on to ſupplant one another, are ſo entirely their Study, and they are ſo given up to them, that I found very little Honour, Principle, Religion, Friendſhip, or Loyalty, but what on Occaſion was ſacrificed to Party, and *which was worſe than all*, while one Party took the utmoſt Liberty to reproach the other with this Part, they were themſelves doing the ſame Thing underhand, with thoſe very Men upon whom they charg'd it; and this is certainly a Peculiar to that Nation; that they ſtick not in their Party-Quarrels to treat one another reciprocally with the foulеſt Language in the rudeſt ungenteel Manner, and unworthy Style, that I perſwade myſelf is not practiſed in any other Part of the World; I met with ſo much of this in two Conferences, with ſome of the greateſt Perſons of the

the Court; once at the Treaſurer's, and once at another Place: That when I afterwards met with my old Correſpondent my Lord ----, I took the Freedom to complain of it, and to enter into ſome Particulars: For Example, I told him the Duke of *Marlborough* was a Perſon whom I wiſh'd the Misfortune to be out of Favour with his Sovereign, becauſe I was a *Frenchman*, and wiſh'd to ſee him no more at the Head of the Confederate Army in the Field; but I could aſſure him, that the Duke of *Marlborough* was in no Place in *France*, that ever I met with, treated in ſuch a Manner as I found he was, in the Converſation of the Tories; for they gave him all the indecent Language that it was poſſible to expreſs, even ſuch as ill-became their Quality and Birth, and the Politeneſs of a Court Education.

My Lord ſhook his Head, and ſaid it was very true, and he was ſorry for it; but that ſuch was the Rage of the Parties at that time, that it was impoſſible to avoid ſuch Uſage. But Sir, ſays he, if you were to go among the Whig Party, you would find it the very ſame thing; and that the High Treaſurer, the Secretary of State; nay, even the Queen herſelf were treated with the

ſame

ſame Indignity, and perhaps much worſe.

My Lord, ſaid I, *then it muſt be certain that theſe things will one time or other break out into* Blood, *for no Men go to this height with one another, but ſuch as reſolve never to be reconciled*; *and if that be your Caſe in* England, *I wonder the leſs that you are ſo ſenſible of the Neceſſity you are in of putting an End to the War Abroad*; *for 'tis certain you cannot be long without a War at Home.*

My Lord ſaid, *it could not be help'd at that time*; but he hoped in a little while to get over it all.

It is an unhappy Scandal upon our *French* Nation to be warm and raſh; and indeed we were ſo in this Treaty; and had it not been for the Prudence of the King, we had been more to blame that Way; but had it not been thus, we had made a much beter Bargain in this Treaty; for the Miniſtry in *England* were plung'd ſo deep, that they were OUR OWN, as we may ſay; and whereas it went for Current, that *France* was ſo reduced, that we muſt have yeilded to whatever the Court of *England* deſired, even to the giving the *Chart-blanc*;

blanc, the Caſe was juſt the Reverſe, for that had we ſtood out, the Miniſtry in *England* muſt have given us the *Chart-blanc*, at leaſt, they muſt have yielded to whatever reaſonable Things we had demanded; and I found ſo much Reaſon to be ſatisfied of the Truth of this; that I ſorely repented the giving up *Dunkirk* to be demoliſh'd, as a Preliminary for a Treaty, which by two Months longer Delay, might have been ſecured at a much leſs Price.

It muſt not be forgot here, that the Miniſtry were in a terrible Fright, tho' it proved a falſe Alarm, that the *Dutch* finding a Negociation was ſet on foot in *England*, had made Overtures of a private Negociation on their Part, but I muſt acknowledge they wrong'd the *Dutch*; whether it was, becauſe Application was not made to them, or that they did not find proper Perſons to offer too, I cannot ſay; but as we found in *England*, that this Rumour greatly diſturbed the People at Court, ſo it made our Preliminaries paſs with leſs Examination; and the ambiguous and doubtful Terms of thoſe Articles, which related to the *Satisfaction of the Allies*, and the Security againſt the Conjunction of the two Crowns, went down with the

Britiſh

Britiſh Miniſtry, on that very Account as glib as we could deſire.

I need ſay no more than this, of the few ſhort *Debates* we had, the Subſtance being agreed before, the Heads of the Propoſals were ſigned by me the 27th of *September* their Stile, the 8th of *October* our Stile, and delivered; and the very next Day they were made Publick, the Queen owning at Supper, that ſhe had conſented to a Treaty with *France*; and that ſhe did not doubt, but in a little while ſhe ſhould ſee what ſhe had ſo long deſired to procure for the Good of Mankind, (*viz.*) a General Peace in *Europe*.

The particular Heads of this Propoſal, which the World call'd Preliminaries, were as follows:

1. 'That His moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty 'will acknowledge the Queen of *Great* 'Britain in that Quality, as alſo the 'Succeſſion of that Crown, according 'to the preſent Settlement.

2. 'That he will freely, and *bona* 'fide, conſent to the Taking all juſt 'and reaſonable Meaſures for hinder-'ing the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* 'ever

' ever being united on the Head of the ' ſame Prince; his Majeſty being per- ' ſwaded, That this Exceſs of Power ' would be contrary to the Good and ' Quiet of *Europe*.

3. ' The King's Intention is, That all ' the Parties engaged in the preſent War, ' without excepting any of them, may ' find their reaſonable Satisfaction in the ' Treaty of Peace which ſhall be made: ' That Commerce may be re-eſtabliſhed ' and maintained for the Future, to the ' Advantage of *Great Britain*, of *Hol-* ' *land*, and of the other Nations who ' have been accuſtomed to exerciſe ' Commerce.

4. ' As the King will likewiſe main- ' tain exactly the Obſervation of the ' Peace when it ſhall be concluded, and ' the Object the King propoſes to him- ' ſelf being to ſecure the Frontiers of ' his Kingdom, without diſturbing, in ' any Manner whatever, the Neigh- ' bouring States, he promiſes to agree ' by the Treaty which ſhall be made, ' That the *Dutch* ſhall be put into Poſ- ' ſeſſion of the fortify'd Places which ' ſhall be mention'd in the *Netherlands*, ' to ſerve hereafter for a Barrier, which ' may ſecure the Quiet of the Repub- ' lick

lick of *Holland* againſt any Enterprize from the Part of *France*.

5. The King conſents likewiſe, That a ſecure and convenient Barrier ſhould be form'd for the Empire, and for the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

6. Notwithſtanding *Dunkirk* coſt the King very great Sums, as well to acquire it, as to fortify it; and that 'tis farther neceſſary to be at very conſiderable Expence for razing the Works, his Majeſty is willing, however, to engage to cauſe them to be demoliſhed immediately after the Concluſion of the Peace; on Condition, that for the Fortifications of that Place, a proper Equivalent, that may content him, be given him; and, as *England* cannot furniſh that Equivalent, the Diſcuſſion of it ſhall be referred to the Conferences to be held for the Negociation of the Peace.

7. When the Conferences for the Negociation of the Peace ſhall be formed, all the Pretenſions of the Princes and States engaged in the preſent War, ſhall be therein diſcuſſed *bona fide*, and amicably: And nothing ſhall be omitted to regulate and ter-

' minate them, to the Satisfaction of all ' the Parties.

' By Virtue of a full Power from the ' King, We, the under-written, Knight ' of his Order of St. *Michael*, Deputy ' of the Council of Commerce, have ' concluded, in the Name of his Ma- ' jeſty, the preſent Preliminaries. In ' Witneſs whereof, we have ſigned. ' Done at *London*, the 27th of *Sep- ' tember*, O. S. and the 8th of *October*, ' N. S. 1711.

(L. S.) *Meſnager.*

I had little to do now in *England*, but to wait the Iſſue of this great Tranſaction, and encourage the Parties that had thus ſerved us; and here I had the Pleaſure to ſee, how the Enemies of *France*, not in *England* only, but every where elſe, raged at this Negociation: I ſay, I had the Pleaſure to ſee it, becauſe I found they began to be ſenſible, the Miniſtry in *England* were now powerfully ſupported by *France*, and would be able to carry their Point, in ſpight of all the Oppoſition that could be made.

My Buſineſs was to encourage the Parties; I mean at Court, for indeed ſome-

ſometimes they were ready to diſpond. The Rage that the Whig-Party ſhew'd, upon the Publication of the Preliminaries, was not only terrible in itſelf, but grew Popular; and they promiſed themſelves to have them cenſured in Parliament.

Libels and Satyrs flew like Muſquet-Balls in a Field-Battle upon the *Preliminaries*; they were canvaſſed, banter'd, and Expoſitions upon them publiſhed, as every Man pleaſed; but it all came too late. *They ſaid*, That *Spain* was given up to King *Philip*, and that the Crown, which was the Occaſion of the War, was left by theſe Articles to the Houſe of *Bourbon*; that the War carried on another Year would have humbled *France*, and was ended now merely to preſerve about five Men in the publick Adminiſtration; that all the Queen's former Promiſes, Speeches, and Declarations, were unſaid, broken, and contradicted, and a thouſand Reproaches were caſt daily on the Court, for this, as they call'd it, Perfidious Carriage.

I had nothing to ſay to all this; it was none of my Buſineſs; the more of it was true, the better Bargain I had made: But by it may be ſeen what

Men in Poſts in the Government, will on all Sides do to get in, or to keep in their Places.

I laugh'd at the People that were out, and told ſome of them, whom I happen'd to ſee, that the Miniſtry laid all the Fault on them, for puſhing them on ſuch deſperate Meaſures, that they ought to have known by themſelves, that Parties when uppermoſt, will not ſtick at worſe Things than theſe, to keep themſelves up, and the other down; that if the Miniſtry had done any thing to the Prejudice of the Queen's Intereſt, the Whigs were in the Fault, for refuſing to ſerve at firſt, when all theſe Things were unthought of; and that if they had continued in their Poſts, as they might have done, the Charge had not been univerſal, and the Miniſtry had not been run to the Neceſſity which now they complain'd of.

I had no mind to diſpute theſe Things, my Buſineſs was to ſit ſtill, and ſee what paſſed, and let the Thing go on; the Parliament approach'd, and great were the Expectations on both Sides, nor were the Miniſters without Apprehenſions; but the exquiſite Conduct of the Treaſurer, in the Management of the

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Parliament, was never to be equal'd in any Place in the World.

It was now time that I ſhould withdraw, or at leaſt ſeem to do ſo, for I had no more publick Buſineſs in *England:* It was therefore thought very proper to take a formal Leave, that it might not be ſuppoſed I was any longer there; accordingly I made my Viſits in Form to the Treaſurer, the Secretaries of State, *&c.* and had the Honour to have a ſecret Audience of the Queen in her Cloſet, who received me very favourably; I felicitated her Majeſty upon the Happineſs of her Reign, and that Heaven would honour her upon the Occaſion of *Giving Peace to Europe.* I aſſured her of the Eſteem and Friendſhip of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and that for the future it ſhould be in her Majeſty's Breaſt, in Conjunction with the Greateſt King in the World, to give Laws to Mankind. I concluded, with letting her Majeſty know, that the King my Maſter would think himſelf further obliged, if her Majeſty would be pleaſed to allow the Marſhal *Tallard,* who had now been a long while Priſoner of War, to return to *France* upon his Parole; He returning to his Confinement, if the Peace

was not made, and that his Majesty obliged himself, the Marshal should perform as became a Prisoner of War, and a Man of Honour. Her Majesty answered, it should be granted, said a great many obliging things to me, and I had my Dismiss.

It was not material to say here, whether the Queen knew at *that time*, that I was not to go away, or that I went away for a while, and came again; it is sufficient, that even Monsr. ----, who was with me in all the publick Part of my Negociation, knew nothing; and that therefore, I not only went back with him to *Dover*, but embark'd with him, and landed at *Calais*; but telling him I had a Visit to make at *Dunkirk*, I gave him the Slip; and after a few Days Stay in *France*, in which, however, I saw the King in Private, and gave him an Account of what was done, I returned immediately to *London*, where I kept myself *incognito*, except to some particular Persons, of whom further Mention shall be made presently.

The Treasurer had kept back the Parliament till the *Dutch* were brought into the Treaty, and then they were allow'd

low'd to meet. The Queen came as uſual to open their Aſſembly; but far from coming to ask their Conſent, or move them to approve what ſhe had done. She came to tell them in Triumph, That *at length, notwithſtanding the Arts of thoſe who delighted in War, both Place and Time were appointed for opening a Treaty for a General Peace:* Theſe are the Words of her Speech.

Contrary to the Fears of the Court, and the Hopes of the Enemies of *France*, the Treaſurer managed with ſuch a happy Dexterity, that not one Vote in either Houſe ever went againſt him, or againſt any thing that he ever puſh'd at: One remarkable Thing, which I think worth a Place among my Obſervations was this: It is uſual, after the Queen opens the Aſſembly with a Speech, that the Deputies of the Commons preſent an Addreſs back to the Queen; wherein they generally thank her for her Speech, recapitulating the Heads, and giving Aſſurances of their ready and dutiful Compliance with her Majeſty's Commands.

When this Addreſs came to be moved in the Houſe, and the Deputies debated the ſeveral Heads, particularly that Point of Thanking her Majeſty for the Aſſu-

rances ſhe had given them, of her Concern for the Good of all the Allies in the enſuing Treaty.

The Whigs moved to have theſe Words included in the Addreſs, *And that the Houſe did not doubt, but Care would be taken, that* Spain *and the* Indies *ſhould not be left in the Hands of any Branch of the Houſe of* BOURBON. This was promiſed in our Preliminaries; but the Miniſtry, who were our Plenipotentiaries, *as I may call them*, carried this againſt the Whigs, by a Majority of 126 Voices.

This was teſtifying ſufficiently to the World, that they had given up *Spain*, and was the ſame Thing as if they had proclaimed King *Philip* at the Gate of their Aſſembly.

It was a particular Satisfaction to me, when a private Agent, that I had employed to bring me an Account what they were upon, and how it was like to go, came and told me, that he could get me into the Houſe, to hear the Debates that ſhould happen upon that Occaſion; I went accordingly, and was thruſt in by a Gentleman, whom I knew not,

not, who followed, and placed himself next me.

It was my Misfortune, That I did not understand enough of the Language, to take in the just Ideas, that what was said by particular Persons would have given me; but the strange Gentleman supplied me in many Cases, telling me in *French* the Names of every Person that spoke, and often times what they said.

The first Appearance of this Assembly is Majestick and Awful, and much represents the *Jewish* Sanhedrim. The President, whom they called Speaker, is seated on a Throne at the upper Part of the Room. At his Feet sat several of the Secretaries, or Writing-Clerks, with large Books, entring down Minutes of whatever was concluded. I observed they took no Minutes of what was spoken, tho' some times some of the Deputies spoke very long, which made me enquire, how it happened, that frequently those Speeches were made publick in Print; but I was informed they are generally false, being re-composed from the Fragments, that some Gentleman bring away in their Memories, and so put together, as the

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Occaſion, and the Party ſeem'd to direct, moſt of them being made up by the Invention of the *Libel-Writers* in the Town. I wondred much, that the Perſons themſelves would permit ſuch Things to be impoſed upon them, as well as upon the World in their Names; but was told, that the Preſs was open, as well as the Mouths of the People in *England*, to Print and Say all Sorts of injurious Things with Impunity; and that the Gentlemen were ſo uſed to it, that they took little or no Notice of it; beſides, theſe Speeches, when publiſhed, were compoſed ſo much to the Advantage of the Speakers, and they were made to argue ſo much happier, to ſpeak ſo much finer, and in ſo much politer a Stile than they ever did, or were capable to do; that they were content with the Injury for the Sake of the Praiſe.

While I was in the Houſe, they were very hot upon the Point I juſt now mentioned about *Spain*, whether it ſhould be put into their Addreſs to the Queen; there were five or ſix of the Friends of the Duke of *Marlborough*, who ſtruggled obſtinately to have it in, and alledged, that it was the main End for which the War had been firſt declared, the

the Confederacy made, and the Money for carrying on the War raiſed ; but I obſerved the other Party did but laugh at them, knowing they had Plurality of Voices againſt them ; for it ſeem'd to me, that altho' long Speeches were often made, they were little minded ; but if a Debate held long, the Deputies would go out to the Taverns and Eating-Houſes, and ſet Men to call them when the time came to paſs their Votes, not regarding what Arguments were uſed on one Side or other ; ſo that I ſaw evidently things were then carry'd, not by Reaſon and Arguments, but by Number.

I came away well pleaſed with what I had ſeen, and failed not to put it in a Poſtſcript to the King, that I had juſt now the Pleaſure of felicitating his Majeſty upon the moſt agreeable and unexpected Event that had happened in all our Affair ; and that I thought the Intereſt of his Majeſty and his Family was eſtabliſhed now by the Parliament, and that they had voted for King *Philip* effectually.

I obſerved from this Time, that the Whigs began to deſpair, and that they were in the greateſt Rage imaginable at their new Miniſtry ; for finding that the

the Court were able by Numbers to carry ſuch a Vote as this, which indeed ſeemed to be much againſt the popular Notions, which the People in that Nation had always entertained of the War, but too apparent that nothing could ſtand in their Way.

The more they were enraged, the more I ſaw Reaſon to be pleaſed, for now I ſaw thro' the dark Cloud which had for ſo long together hung over the *French* Nation, threatning a total Eclypſe of her Glory, if not a general Deſtruction of her Monarchy and Government; but now I ſaw her Deliverance riſe from thoſe very Enemies, and in that Nation which we dreaded moſt.

But not to dwell too long here, this Vote being paſſed, the Conſequence was, that the Terms of Peace was left entirely to the Queen; it ſeems the Crown claims the Right in *England* of making Peace and War, the People reſerving only the Purſe; which, tho' it is indeed a great Article, yet in the Caſe I am ſpeaking of, it ſerved very well to our Purpoſe; and in this Diſpute it was urged home to the Deputies, that all theſe Things ought to be left to the Queen,

Queen, which was all the Miniſters wanted.

It is true, that at the ſame Time a like Reſerve about *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* was offered by the Whigs in the Houſe of Lords, where the Court loſt it by one Voice; but they valued not that, it being in their Power to ſecure the Votes of that Part of the Parliament, by creating and giving Votes to as many as they pleaſed, which was done by Advice of the Treaſurer, to the Number of Twelve at a Time. It gave me frequent Occaſions to reflect upon the *Engliſh* Nation, when I ſaw how they flattered themſelves with Notions of great Privileges, which they enjoyed, and of their being more than other Nations ſecure of their Liberties, which to me ſeemed a meer Chymera, ſeeing I found that Court-Managements were come to ſuch a Degree of Perfection in *England*, that all the Liberties they ſo much boaſted to enjoy, were often entirely at the Mercy of their Princes, and that whoever reign'd, and whatſoever Party had the Aſſendant with the Sovereign, they never need want a Parliament to do their Buſineſs, whether the Deſign might be to preſerve thoſe Liberties, or to deſtroy them; two Ways

I found they have, in that quarrelling divided Nation, to do this (*viz.*) Money in the lower Houſe, or Houſe of Deputies; and Prerogative in the higher Houſe; by the firſt, if the Court was willing to ſpare enough of it, to bribe and influence Elections, they have obtained ſuch Members to be choſen, as were of their own Party, and who getting in by Corruption, would, no doubt, act by corrupt Principles; and by the other it was in their Power, as a Prerogative, to make not 12 Voices only, but 12 Score at a Time, and as often as they found Cauſe: All which conſider'd, it appeared to me, that it is owing to Fate, and the good Diſpoſitions of their Princes, more than the Stability of their Conſtitution, that they are not long ſince fallen into a worſe Condition of Bondage, than what they think ours to be in *France*.

But to return to the Hiſtory of the Affair in hand, which will illuſtrate theſe Obſervations; I found the Peace or Treaty now propoſed, was doubtleſs of the utmoſt Weight to the *Engliſh* Nation, and on the Management whereof depended the whole Balance of Power in *Europe*; and yet how eaſily did they give it up to the Conduct of a Woman; and

and a Woman, thro' the Goodneſs of her Diſpoſition, not the leaſt eaſy of all the Women in the World, to be impoſed upon by her Servants.

In the Conduct of her Majeſty's Particular, I alſo found Reaſon to make one Obſervation, which may be of Uſe to us in *France* (*viz.*) that Goodneſs of Diſpoſition is not always a Virtue, or at leaſt, is not the ſafeſt Virtue in a Prince; our Auguſt Monarch is a moſt happy Example of this; who by the inimitable Fire of his Temper, govern'd at the ſame Time by an unexampled Sagacity, Wiſdom and Prudence, has maintained ſuch an Authority in all its Adminiſtrations, that his Miniſters of State have been entirely kept within the Bounds of their Duty; tho' they have been capable of adviſing, yet have they never been capable of impoſing upon their Sovereign.

The Miniſtry had now obtained their End, and the Preliminaries being diſpatch'd abroad by the Queen's Orders, Means were made Uſe of to bring the Allies into a Treaty, and to appoint Time and Place for that Purpoſe; this was managed with a great deal of Addreſs in foreign Parts, eſpecially in *Holland*

land by the Treaſurer's Direction, and the Applications of ſuch Agents as were employed there; and yet ſo great was the Obſtinacy of the Whigs in *England*, and ſuch Intereſt had they in her Allies, that they made it very difficult to bring forward the Negociation; and had not the ill Succeſs in the Field, reduced the States-General to the Neceſſity of complying with the Queen, it had perhaps not been brought to paſs, no not tho' the Queen ſent them Word, ſhe would think herſelf diſengag'd from all former Alliances, and actually did ſeparate her Troops from them in the Field: But when all theſe high Meaſures fail'd, Fate and the glorious Arms of the King of *France* brought it all to Perfection, to the eternal Honour of the Management of the moſt Politick, as well as powerful Prince in the World, as will appear in the Sequel of this Relation.

The Affair ſeem'd now tranſported from *England*, and our Eyes were fix'd upon the *Dutch*. I lived in *London* as a Perſon out of Employment, and that had nothing to do there, but to wait my Maſter's Orders, which were ſuppoſed to be, either to continue or to return, as the Anſwers of the Confederates were

or were not ſuited to the Grand Deſign in View.

This time I took to make the Attempt in the beſt Manner I could, to ſerve, or at leaſt to ſee what Service I could render to the Court of St. *Germains*; the King having, beſides what he had ſaid to me at Parting, given me his Command twice afterwards, to let him know if there was Room to do any thing in that Affair.

I had no Way for this, but to enter into a Confidence with my firſt Correſpondent on this Head, which I found was to be done with the utmoſt Caution, and I cannot but remark, that he very handſomely avoided the touching that Point in ſeveral Diſcourſes which I offered, that look'd towards it, tho' at a great Diſtance: But at Length I reſolved to break it as plainly to him as poſſible; and either to bring him into it, or receive a Denial; for it was eaſy to ſee he had Inclinations which were favourable to that Intereſt, and ſo had ſeveral other who were near the Queen; but they could not make it practicable for them, as they all ſaid, to take any Step in that Intereſt, without hazard to their own,

and I never found they had a true Zeal for any thing elſe but the laſt.

However, what I had in Commiſſion, I reſolved to diſcharge myſelf of, as well as I could; and to bring it on gradually, I told his L-----p one Evening, that I thought there might be ſome Occaſion for our mutual Confidence in ſeveral Things that might occur in the enſuing Treaty, which would make it eaſier to the Plenipotentiaries, when they ſhould come to meet; and that therefore it might not be amiſs, if he thought fit, to continne our Meetings, that perhaps ſeveral things might offer in ſuch Conferences, which had not occur'd to us before, which might be of equal Service, and from whence a good Iſſue might be expected.

He told me he was of the ſame Mind, and indeed, had been often thinking to deſire it of me; *but you Frenchmen*, ſays he, *are the happieſt Men in the World, for your quick Conception of Things, you ſtart every good Thing before me.* I told him I was more happy by far, in hitting ſo fortunately upon what agreed with his Judgment, than in my being a Day or two before him in time; why, ſays he, *Nature guides us both in this Caſe*, and going on with

ſome

ſome Compliments, which I omit, *ſays he*, theſe Preliminaries are big with *Miracles* and *Wonders*, we may very well talk them over again; let us begin with *Spain*, ſays he, and the *Weſt-Indies*. You *ſee* what our Peers have told the Queen to Day as their humble OPINION and ADVICE, (*viz.*) that no Peace can be ſafe or honourable to *Great Britain* or *Europe*, if *Spain* and *the Weſt-Indies* are to be allotted to any Branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*; and do you ſee, added his Lordſhip, what Anſwer Her Majeſty hath been obliged to give them, *viz.* That ſhe ſhould be ſorry any one could think ſhe would not do her utmoſt to recover *Spain* and the *Weſt Indies* from the Houſe of *Bourbon*. I replied, that I had ſeen nothing all this time, but what admitted of a moſt eaſy Reply; for tho' it was true, that the Addreſs of their Peers had in it an Appearance of Significance; Yet I had learnt ſince I came to *England*, that neither Houſe acted in thoſe Things any otherwiſe than as they were influenced by the Contending Parties without: *And* as that Advice and Opinion happened to be the *Opinion and Advice* now of *Four Men* more than there were of the contrary Side then in the Houſe. So when there happened to be

but Five of the oppoſite Party more in the Houſe than there was that Day: They would then give juſt contrary *Advice* and *Opinion*; and that this took much from the Weight of their Reſolves; that he knew very well, that in the Chamber of Deputies the ſame *Opinion* and *Advice* was condemn'd by 126 Voices; that as to Her Majeſty's Anſwer, it might very well be agreed to by all honeſt Men; and that I knew nothing more to the Purpoſe, unleſs her Majeſty had ſaid, *That ſhe ſhould be ſorry any one ſhould think ſhe HAD NOT ALREADY done her utmoſt to recover* Spain *out of the Hands of the Houſe of* Bourbon; for my Lord ſays I, *Has not all been done by WAR that could be done; and have we not beaten you out of* Spain *by a continued Series of Victory, and are ye able to recover it again? The Queen might well have ſaid, that ſhe had done her utmoſt.*

My Lord anſwer'd, That I talk'd very Cavalierly of the War; but that it was not our Buſineſs, after the Confidence we had uſed with one another to enquire, who had moſt Occaſion to put an End to it: And taking me by the Hand, and ſhaking it, ſaid, That I know the King of *France* was as hard preſs'd by the War, as the Miniſtry were by the Whigs, and

that a Peace was neceſſary to both, and it was both our Buſineſſes to conſider what was to be done. *My Lord*, ſaid I, *we ſettled that Point before, and little more can be ſaid; let the Plenipotentiaries debate the Mediums: But let us begin with the other*, and *the main Heads that concern* England *ſeparately, and talk of them in Order, and we'll come to this again.* I ſaid this, becauſe I deſired earneſtly to talk about the Buſineſs of the *Chevalier*. *Well*, ſays my Lord, I find you are willing to put off the moſt difficult Points to laſt; where then will you begin.

I told him, I thought we ought to begin where the Articles began, *viz.* with the Satisfaction to be given her Majeſty's Perſon, in acknowledging her Majeſty's Title to the Crown: And I ask'd him if they had any Form in which they would deſire the King ſhould do it, that the King, I was ſure, would ſtick at nothing to oblige her Majeſty. My Lord ſaid, He did not ſee any Thing needful in ſuch a Caſe, but what was uſual in all ſuch, *viz.* That her Majeſty's Name, Stile and Titles be made Uſe of in the Peace, and in all Commiſſions, full Powers, Writings, Inſtruments, and Papers made Uſe of in the Treaty, when Mention was to be made of her Per-

ſon; that in the mean time ſhe ſhall be formally treated with as Queen; and that as ſoon as the Peace is made, an Ambaſſador Extraordinary ſhall be ſent to congratulate her Acceſſion to the Crown, and to own her in the Quality of Queen. And ſays he, there is another Thing that I believe the Queen will expect, *viz.* That the Stile of King ſhall not be given to the *Chevalier*.

This was what I waited for; I told him immediately, his Majeſty would readily agree to all the Particulars he had mentioned, or any Thing elſe her Majeſty deſired; that as to the *Chevalier*, the Title was nothing in theſe Parts of *Europe*; for the Title of a Family was frequently given to all the Children of that Family, tho' the Eldeſt only enjoy'd the Sovereignty or Poſſeſſion. But *now we are mentioning that unfortunate Branch of your Family*, my Lord, ſaid I, *What will her Majeſty have us to do in this Caſe*; and how ſhall we diſpoſe of him till her Majeſty pleaſe to do him the Juſtice ſhe intends?

He turned very briskly, and asked me what I meant, and that I muſt have a great Care what I ſaid upon that Subject; for Sir, ſays he, if you mention

but

but his Name among the Miniſtry, you will frighten them all out of their Wits. *Why ſo*, my Lord, ſaid I, *they will, no doubt, do him Juſtice after the Queen. I don't know but they might, if they had it in their Choice*, ſays he; *but they are ſo jealous of one another on that Head, that not one of them dares mention his Name.*

I told him, I was ſorry they were ſo frighted at a thing which they knew very well how to reconcile; and that ſeeing they could not but know he muſt one Time or other be their Maſter, why ſhould they not ſtrive to merit from him. He told me very ſeriouſly, he thought they would never be thorowly eaſy in *England* till it was ſo; but at preſent it was the main Clamour which the Whigs made Uſe of to inflame the People againſt them; that the Thing was remote, the Queen a young Woman, and might very well live Twenty Years longer, and they had too much on their Hands to enter into any Diſcourſe about Things of that Nature; that as I knew her Majeſty's Juſtice would not permit her to ſuffer any Injury to him, which might be prevented; ſo there might, no Queſtion, ſeveral *Mediums* be found out to reconcile all the Difficulties that other People thought ſo great; that the King

of *France* would contribute all his good Offices to accommodate that Matter to her Majesty's Satisfaction, that her Royal House might not be extinct while the Male Branch remained, nor her Crown be possess'd by Strangers, when a Native, beloved by her People, and who merited to be beloved by all the World, was remaining; and that his Majesty hoped the Queen would not desire him to abandon the only Son of her dear Father, who had recommended him so earnestly to the Protection of *France* on his Death-Bed.

He seem'd a little surprised at my Discourse; and told me, he did foresee that the *Chevalier* must be named in the Treaty; and that for Form sake, there might be several Demands about him. I answered, that it was impossible to make a Treaty without naming him, and he did not foresee how they could do less than oblige the King of *France* to remove him out of his Dominions; and that therefore, if he might offer his Opinion in private, it would be, that the *Chevalier* should, on Pretence of a Journey, travel into some Parts of the Countries adjoining to *France*, and take that Occasion to be absent from *France* at the time of the Treaty, as if he resided by Choice in such Country.

I

I told him, I hoped what ever they expected of the King for Form Sake, they would hearken to ſome *Medium* in Behalf of the Right of that Prince, whom the Laws of God and Nature had made a King from his Cradle.

He replied, that he was very glad to hear me talk of ſuch *Mediums*, for he foreſaw the King of *France* would be obliged not ſo much to abandon the *Chevalier*, as to acknowledge the Succeſſion of the Crown in the Houſe of *Hanover*, as it was mentioned in the ſecond Preliminary; and he beg'd me to tell him what *Mediums* could be found out.

I ask'd his Lordſhip, if his Demand was only to hear what I had to offer, or whether it was a ſincere Intention to accept of Propoſals for accommodating the Intereſt of the *Chevalier* after the Queen. He proteſted to me, that he ſhould be glad to have the Crown deſcend into the right Line, and that he believed the Nation would be moſt effectually ſettled by ſuch a Thing, eſpecially if the *Chevalier* would accept of the Advice of ſome of his beſt Friends as to his future Conduct.

I anſwered, That there needed no more than that a ſecret Article ſhould be made by the Queen, to diſengage the King from all the Obligations of ſuch Agreements upon ſuch ſubſequent Occaſions as might happen, and a Declaration from her Majeſty, that all the Engagements the King ſhould enter into in the Treaty of Peace, ſhould be ſo underſtood by the Queen.

He anſwered, That he durſt not ſay the Queen would ſign ſuch a Declaration, but he durſt engage the Queen would declare by Word of Mouth to him before the Treaty was begun, that ſhe would be ſatisfied to underſtand the Treaty in ſuch a Manner; and that whenever ſhe diſcharged the King from it, the Obligation on him as to the Recognition of the Succeſſion ſhould ceaſe.

I told him, I did not queſtion but the King would accept of a Verbal Declaration, and the rather, becauſe I told him we were all thorowly ſatisfied her Majeſty would do the *Chevalier* Juſtice at laſt, if not in her Life-time; nay, I was perſwaded, if other Obligations did not hinder, I believed her Majeſty was ſo good a Chriſtian, as not to poſſeſs the Right

Right of her Brother one Hour, if ſhe were but to hear what the King her Father ſaid of it on his Death-Bed. Here I told him what I had heard the Abbot *Gualtier* had undertaken to do, and how I was preſſed to offer at the ſame.

My Lord ſeemed ſurpriſed at what I ſaid, and returned, that for his Part he ſhould be glad to ſit by and hear the Abbot harangue upon that Head, and he durſt anſwer for the Queen that ſhe would give him a very pertinent Anſwer: But that he durſt not undertake to perſuade the Queen to *Demit*, and ſet up the *Chevalier*: Beſides, he ſaid, the Queen underſtood the Affairs of *Europe* much better than ſo; that it was Peace and an End of ſhedding Blood that her Majeſty deſired; whereas ſuch a Thing as this would not only kindle a new Fire of War in *Europe*, but remove it from foreign Countries, and bring it into her own, and to the Gates of her Palace.

I acknowledge this Diſcourſe had Weight in it; but I was not willing to own it to him, becauſe I was unwilling to give up the Intereſt of the *Chevalier* on any Account; and therefore I told

told him, that as to a new War, it was moſt certain, that as the King my Maſter had carried on this long War to ſuch a Degree againſt all the Confederates; ſo he deſired no Man to put an End to it, if he could have *Great Britain* draw a Sword againſt them too.

He ſmiled at my Diſcourſe, and told me, That he found I did not underſtand him; that I miſtook when I talk'd of the Queen, turning all her Forces, *&c.* that nothing was ſo ſure as that, ſhould the Queen offer at it, ſhe would have no Forces; that all her Officers, Army and Navy would revolt from her as one Man; and ask'd me if I thought the Queen had forgot the Fate of her Father.

I confeſs he ſilenced me with thoſe Reflections, and I ſtood mute for a while, but not willing to drop the Diſcourſe, I mentioned again the Power of the King my Maſter. *Monſieur*, ſaid he, *Speak no more of that, you know it is Peace, not a new War that the King your Maſter aims at; our Miſtreſs deſires it*; but *your Maſter really wants it, at leaſt he does not want to run into a new War: Remember that his Attempt againſt the general riſing of this Nation againſt*

King

James, *brought the first War upon him, which he had his Hands full of.* Even then when his Wealth was unexhausted, his Kingdoms flourishing, his Strength unbroken, and his Troops esteemed the Best in the World; should such a Turn happen here again, and the Duke of *Hanover* come in here *by a War*, by which this Kingdom, which is now enclined to befriend him, would be a-new inflam'd against him, *I question whether* France *might not be ruined.*

My Lord, said I, *the Proposal is the Abbot* Gualtiers, *I suppose you will hear of it in Publick; I confess, I do not think it very Practicable, tho' I wish it were otherwise.*

I entreated him then to consider what might be done, and to speak to the Queen about it. *He told me*, that he did not see Room to do any Thing at present, for that no Body could, or durst speak a Word about it, and indeed he could not see it was proper so much as to mention it to the Queen.

I replied, That certainly the Queen could not be ſo often talking of thoſe Things, but ſhe muſt ſometime or other mention her Brother: and that I thought nothing could be more *a propo* than to ask her Majeſty what her Pleaſure was on that Head, and how ſhe would pleaſe to have him diſpoſe of himſelf.

He told me, That tho' it was true, that this ſeem'd Reaſonable and Natural upon any ſuch Occaſion, yet he knew not whether it could be done or not; however, that he would wait ſuch an Opportunity as might preſent, and let me know what was the Iſſue.

We had no Meeting after this for five or ſix Days, except once, when Company prevented any private Diſcourſe, only my Lord took an Opportunity juſt at taking his Leave to ſay, He had *thought much* of what we diſcourſed laſt, and that he believed ſomething would be done in it: But two Days after he ſent a Servant to tell me, that if I pleaſed to ſup with him in Private, he ſhould be glad to ſee me at Eight a-Clock: I went accordingly; and we were in private indeed, not a Servant being admit-

ted

ted to us, but one that waited while we eat: After Supper my Lord told me, he had met with an unexpected Opportunity of mentioning to the Queen what I had recommended to him about the *Chevalier*, and that the Manner was diverting. He told me, he had the Honour to be drinking Tea in the Apartment of a certain Lady, very near the Queen; and that as the Diſcourſe every where was upon theſe new Preliminaries, ſo much more was it ſo there; and that the Lady began very freely with him upon that Head: And Sir, ſays he to me, *I think you ſhould have had a Conference with her on this Subject; for by my Faith the Women dare ſay any thing.*

I was mighty earneſt to hear the Particulars, and begg'd his Lordſhip would be pleaſed to let me into the Introduction, as well as into the Story itſelf: He told me he would do ſo at large, and then went on thus:

Why, *ſays he*, ſhe began with me thus: *My Lord*, ſays ſhe, *I cannot make out theſe dark Things you call* Preliminaries *for my Life; I wiſh you would read me a Lecture of Politicks upon them.*

Lord

Lord Madam, ſaid I, *you are a better Politician than I. Not I*, ſays ſhe, *I cannot underſtand them, I am all in the Dark about them. Well Madam*, ſaid I, *but cannot your Ladyſhip be content to ſtay a little till they explain themſelves.* She returned Laughing, *We Women, you know*, my Lord, *love to come to the Eclairiciſſement.*

Well Madam, ſaid I, *but what is it that you are ſo much in the Dark about, where is your Difficulty?*

Here ſhe ſpoke ſoftly, *Why, what*, ſays ſhe, *do you intend to do with the PRETENDER*, ſo, Sir, you know he is call'd among our People, and ſometimes by thoſe who are not his worſt Enemies, eſpecially if Company preſents?

I was ſurpriſed, you may be ſure, to hear her put ſuch a bold Queſtion, and ſo publickly too, for there was three Ladies more at the Tea-Table; but they were all Friends 'tis true, and all of the Family.

Madam, ſays I, what can we do with him?

Well,

Well, but, ſays ſhe, *I ſee no Article about him in the Preliminaries; I hope you have ſecured Things there.*

This look'd very oddly, for I knew that Lady was none of his Enemy; and therefore I anſwered her accordingly; *Madam,* ſaid I, *you ſee the Succeſſion is to be acknowledged as by the preſent Settlement.* She found I ſpoke ambiguouſly, and ſhe put it home to me; *I know,* ſays ſhe, *how you would have the People underſtand it; but I hope you underſtand it as I do.*

Madam, ſaid I, *you cannot think but that by the preſent Settlement, the whole World underſtands the Settlement of the Succeſſion in the Houſe of* Hanover.

Does the whole World underſtand it ſo, ſaid ſhe.

We are to ſuppoſe they do, ſaid I.

Come, Come, my Lord, ſaid ſhe again, *neither you nor I underſtand it ſo, beſides many honeſt People that you and I know.* She went on then and told me, ſhe thought I need not have been ſo ſhy of what I ſaid, by which I knew my Company, And replied, that I was far from being ſhy,

but that whatever was our Deſire, or whatever Thoughts we had of that Perſon and of his Affairs, I did not ſee it poſſible, *as Things ſtood*, to do any thing for him, or to introduce any Clauſe in the Treaty in his Favour. *I told her*, ſhe knew how we were ſtated, and how vigilent the Whigs were to lay hold of every Opportunity to charge us with favouring his Intereſt, and I did not ſee it poſſible to avoid Articling againſt him in the ſtrongeſt Terms. She confeſs'd we had Reaſon for that Part, and ſhe was of my Mind, but ſhe thought there might be ſome private Agreement made to ſerve his Intereſt *in Petto*; and that as all Agreements were to be made between the Queen and the King of *France*, they might by mutual Conſent diſſolve the Obligation of thoſe Agreements whenever they pleaſed, declaring them now to be ſo underſtood, as that they ſhould bind no longer than SO or SO: This, *ſhe ſaid*, was taking away all Reproach of breaking Articles on either Side.

This was ſo near what you, Sir, had propoſed to me, ſaid he, that I began to think whether you had been conferring Notes with her or not, tho' I believe you had not.

I told her, I thought that was ſtraining ſome Points, which Princes that regard their Parole of Honour could not paſs over, and that it was no more than a Mental Reſervation in Diſcourſe. She inſiſted that I was wrong, that the Agreement was juſt, becauſe mutual and not conceal'd from one another.

I replied, I would not diſpute a Thing which I had ſo much Inclination to have true; but I did not ſee how this would anſwer his End. She ſaid, it might not *juſt then*, but that hereafter it might.

But what will you do in the mean Time, ſays ſhe warmly, *will ye drive him about the World like a Vagabond*, will you oblige the King of *France* to abandon him and do nothing for him, and you at the ſame time ruin him here too, what, muſt he *Periſh*; will you have the Queen ſtarve her own Brother?

I began to be a little in Earneſt with her at this; I told her, I did not think ſhe was ſo ſerious as I found ſhe was, that I believed ſhe was ſatisfy'd I was for ſtarving no body; but ſhe alſo knew on what tickliſh Terms we ſtood in

England, and that our Enemies wanted nothing to bring the Mob about us, but to be able to ſay, we were now bringing in the Pretender, or acting for the Pretender; *That* ſhe could not but ſee they ſaid ſo already at all Adventures, whether true or falſe; but if they were able to prove it, all was undone.

Lord, ſays ſhe, half merrily, half ſeriouſly, *What a Parcel of States-Men her Majeſty has here!* Why, *'tis no Wonder the Queen is ſo frighted, every now and then at the Whigs, when you are all ſo faint hearted.*

Madam, ſaid I, *you don't know what it is to fall into the Hands of the Whigs, you know they are People that NEVER FORGIVE.*

Well, my Lord, *I ſee you are all afraid of being called to an Account by the Whigs.* If ever the young Gentleman does come here, as I don't queſtion but he will; I hope he will call you all to Account for a Parcel of ------

I took this for a Jeſt, tho' I found ſhe was in Earneſt enough, and therefore I added Laughing, *Cowards and Deſecters, you were going to ſay Madam, you had*

as

as good have ſpoken it out, perhaps we ſhould not be ſuch Cowards, if the Queen would be adviſed.

Here ſhe turned her Jeſting-way immediately into a ſerious and warm Diſcourſe, which was really very pertinent to the Subject, but is too long to repeat.

Here my Lord made as if he would have broken off the Diſcourſe, but I beg'd him to go on: I told him this Diſcourſe was Eſſential to what I had in Commiſſion, that I could not but inſiſt upon it, that his Lordſhip would be ſo free with me as to communicate it.

Why, ſays he, *it is impoſſible to repeat her Diſcourſe; beſides, the Queen came in and interrupted us.*

This made me more eager to know the Particulars of their Diſcourſe; and I preſs'd him as much as good Manners would permit, when on a ſudden he turned about, I think, ſays he, I muſt bring you and my Lady ------ *together, and ſee what you can make of it; ſhe will talk as freely of it as you can deſire, for*

my

my Part, I am afraid ſo much as to talk to myſelf of it.

I anſwered, I would be infinitely obliged to him to introduce me to ſuch a Lady, as by his Character of her, I found ſhe was, and eſpecially being one near the Queen too; but I beg'd of him, nevertheleſs, to go on a little further with the Story, eſpecially becauſe he had mentioned that the Queen came into the Converſation, he told me he would oblige me as far as he could, but that he could not remember it all; but that when he ſpoke of the Queen's being adviſed, ſhe reflected ſeriouſly on their not adviſing the Queen, that they might be ſure the Queen expected they ſhould make that Matter eaſy to her as well as other Things: That the Queen ſaw them all ſo frighted about the Whigs calling them to an Account, that it made her change the Miniſtry. They repreſented the Whigs to the Queen as a moſt contemptible Party, who they were able to overthrow in every Thing; and now on a ſudden they were afraid of the very Shadow of them; that there was not a Man among the whole Miniſtry but my Lord Treaſurer, that ever ſpoke a cheerful Word to the Queen,

that

that they ought to know ſhe was a Woman as well as a Sovereign; and that if they were not able to ſupport what they had undertaken, they ought to tell her ſo honeſtly, that ſhe might find other Hands that underſtood their Buſineſs better.

That in the new Articles there ſeem'd nothing digeſted, and they ſeem'd to have left Things ſo much to the Plenipotentiaries, that they had not found ſo much as a Scheme for them to act upon, for Example in this Caſe of the *Chevalier:* Whenever the Queen enquired about it, all the Anſwer ſhe could get was, that they put it off from one to another; one knew nothing of it, and another knew nothing of it; and if ever their Opinion was ſeparately ask'd, every one always anſwered for himſelf, that he did not know what to adviſe; that he durſt not talk of it; that it was a dangerous Point to ſpeak of, and ſuch Stuff, as that ſhe wonder'd what Men of Council and State Wiſdom as they all pretended to be, could anſwer a Queen in ſuch a Manner, that by the Preliminaries ſhe found he was to be forgotten, and not ſo much as named; but we might depend upon it he ſhould

be named in the Treaty; and if the Plenipotentiaries were not inſtructed how to act, he would be left at the Mercy of the *Dutch*, or indeed of his worſt Enemies, be ſtarved, or murther'd, or worſe: And ſhe added aloud, *Can you think*, my Lord, *but that the Queen has many Thoughts of this kind, can ſhe be eaſy to have you murther her Brother?*

Juſt as ſhe had named the Word BROTHER, the Queen came into the Place; *What*, ſays the Queen, *are you always talking Politicks.*

Lord Madam, ſays ſhe merrily, here's my Lord ----, naming me to the Queen, *turned Whig. I cannot think that*, ſays the Queen. He is turned Cruel and Barbarous, replies ſhe, *and that I think is to be a Whig.*

What is the Matter, ſays the Queen?

Nay, Madam, it is all before your Majeſty, ſays ſhe, *their new* Preliminaries here have been the Diſpute. I tell my Lord, They *are ſo worded, that they will neither let your Majeſty do any Thing for a certain Perſon, or do it themſelves. I ſuppoſe they would be rid on him at any Price; I wiſh they would*

tell

tell your Majeſty what you are to do with him.

Says the Queen, *I can never get one of them ſo much as to ſpeak of him, or to anſwer me a Queſtion about him, and I don't preſs them, but I hope they will do as becomes them.*

I reply'd preſently to my Lady, not mentioning any thing of what the Queen had ſaid: Madam, *you complain of the Miniſtrys doing nothing in that Affair, perhaps you do not know what is offered at by ſome Perſons at this very Time.*

Not I, indeed, ſays ſhe, *all Things are ſo lock'd up with my Lord Treaſurer, that we hear nothing; my Lord is incommunicable; all the Queen herſelf knows from him, amounts to little more, than that in general all Things go well, and be eaſy,* Madam, *be eaſy.*

Madam, ſays I, turning to the Queen, your Majeſty knows Monſieur *M*—— is ſtill in Town; he deſires nothing more than to talk freely of this Matter; and it is true, as my Lady —— ſays, that the Miniſtry are all afraid of meddling with it; he ſays, he has ſomething of very

very great Importance to offer about it, and thinks it hard, that after the Preliminaries are ſettled with him, no Body will give him Audience on the reſt. I think, if your Majeſty pleaſes to hear it, my Lady —— would be the beſt *Plenipotentiary* in ſuch an Affair; I'll bring Monſ. ---- to wait on her. *With all my Heart*, ſays my Lady ----, if the Queen will give me Leave; *I won't be ſo much afraid, as all you Politicians are, that you dare neither ſpeak nor hear.*

I think, ſays the Queen, *there can be no Harm in this, any more than in the Preliminaries, to hear what they offer.*

Thus, Sir, we broke up our Diſcourſe, and I thought I did you a Service you would be pleaſed with; and I doubt not the next Time I ſee her, ſhe will ask if I have brought you, and where you are, for ſhe is mighty willing to talk of the Buſineſs.

I told him he had done me a great deal of Juſtice, in ſaying that I deſired nothing more than to talk freely of that Affair; and ſeeing the Women had ſo much more Courage than the Men, I ſhould be as glad of a Female Plenipotentiary

tentiary as of any other, and only desired the Favour to be called to a Conference as soon as possible, for that the Time drew near when I must be gone, his Majesty having done me the Honour to Name me for one of the Plenipotentiaries at the approaching Treaty at *Utrecht*.

He seem'd surprised at that, and asked me if I gave him leave to let the Queen know it; adding, that he was sure it would be very agreeable to her Majesty. I told him, I would always be glad to acquaint her Majesty with every thing that would please her, and that he might assure her Majesty the King had done me that Honour, on Condition, that it was acceptable to the Queen of *England*; so that I had her Majesty's Approbation to get to my Commission, before it would pass: This made it necessary to let his Lordship know, that I had been privately with the King, which a little surprised him, my Stay having been so short, that he hardly miss'd me.

He then told me, that he began now indeed to think, what he had no Notion of before, *viz.* That I had something of Importance still to offer. I answered, I had

had ſo, but that I would be very free with him, it related wholly to the Affairs of the Court of St. *Germains*, that I would not offer to diſcourſe with any one but himſelf, if he would enter into that Point with me, but that if he choſe to refer me to any one elſe, I would be directed by him.

He replied, that he was in Earneſt in naming the Lady —— to me, for that in Truth, for his own Part, he did not care to venture; and as for the Women they feared no Body; and that ſeeing I was willing, he would bring us together in a Day or two. And he added, this I can aſſure you, that what you ſay there, will be ſooneſt and with moſt Advantage convey'd to the Queen; nay, perhaps, ſays he, you may ſometimes ſee the Queen herſelf on that Occaſion.

It was not long after this, that he carried me to Court, where I follow'd him thro' ſeveral Apartments; at laſt we were ſtopt by the Queen's happening to be paſſing out of her withdrawing Room into her Cloſet: We paid our Compliments, and paſs'd on: At length we came into a Room where was a Table by the Fire, and a large eaſy Chair; and a Table at another Side of the Room with

two

two Candles and ſome looſe Cards: I found afterwards this was the Lady's Apartment that I was to meet; that there had been ſome Ladies at Play, but that the Queen had come in, and the Ladies were all fled; that the Queen had ſat by the Fire ſome time after, and was juſt come away when we met her.

The Lady I was to meet with, it ſeems, was with the Queen; but both the Queen and ſhe too ſeeing my Lord ----, and another Perſon with him going on, ſhe came back to us, and found us in her Chamber.

When her Ladyſhip was come into the Room: My Lord ----- I found, paid her great Reſpect, which, tho' it gave me no light into her Name or Quality, yet it imported that ſhe was a Perſon fit for me to talk with; after ſome Diſcourſe between them, he preſented me to her, and told her, this was the Gentleman he had told her Ladyſhip of, and that I was in Commiſſion from the King of *France*, ſo that ſhe might put Confidence in all that I ſhould ſay: that ſhe knew what Subject we were to talk upon; that the Court of St. *Germains* were very anxious about the Share they ſhould have in

the

Negociations that were on Foot as to the *Chevalier*.

He was going to ſay more, when ſhe interrupted him, *Pray, my Lord, do not call him by that barbarous Name, call him any Thing but that and Pretender.*

Well Madam, ſaid he, *I'll call him by no Name that ſhall offend you; but I cannot talk of him at all: I refer it all to this Honourable Perſon and yourſelf.*

With that ſhe turned to me, and told me, ſhe ſhould be very glad of a little Diſcourſe upon that Head. *LORD,* ſaid ſhe, *theſe Politick People* are ſo ſhy one of another, they are frighted at Shadows; *for my Part I fear nothing,* ſays ſhe, I'll hear whatever you can ſay, Sir, and do whatever I can for him: *Call him what you will,* added ſhe, *is he not the Queen's Brother; I know him by that Name, and no other:* And with this ſhe made me ſit down.

Being thus entred upon Diſcourſe, my Lord withdrew among ſome Ladies who were playing at Cards in the next Room, and I found myſelf left alone with my Lady ----

Here

Here I was at ſome Loſs how to break my Deſign, but ſhe let me ſoon know that ſhe expected no Ceremony. Sir, ſaid ſhe, I know your Character, what you have been doing here, and have been always with the Queen when my Lord ----- has given her Majeſty an Account of the private Diſcourſes you two have had, for this is the Room where the Queen always retired to hear it; with this ſhe related ſeveral Branches of our Diſcourſe, which convinced me, that what ſhe ſaid was true.

Whereupon riſing up and making her a very low Bow, I told her I had had the Honour of a great deal of Diſcourſe in Confidence with my Lord, as I perceived ſhe knew, that he always told me, that what I communicated to him, he always laid before the Queen, as I, on the other hand, had done the like to the King; that it was the true End of our Confidence mutually to ſerve our reſpective Sovereigns, and to bring them to thoſe Terms of Peace and Friendſhip, which they both deſired, and that I hop'd we ſhould have the Succeſs we deſired; but that I had a ſecret Commiſſion which I was very loth to communicate to any but ſuch as his Lordſhip ſhould think pro-

proper, and that it was for this End I was introduced to her Ladyſhip, and deſired to know if ſhe required me to ſhew my Credentials.

No, by no Means, Sir, ſaid ſhe, I am no Plenipotentiary; but I know the Meaning is, that we ſhould talk of that poor diſtreſs'd Branch of the Royal Blood that is in Exile in your Country, we are very anxious about him.

Madam, ſaid I, *the Sum of what I have in Commiſſion is this, that the King my Maſter would be glad to know, what is her Majeſty's Pleaſure to have done in this Caſe.*

Lord, ſaid ſhe, *we are at the greateſt Loſs imaginable, we muſt not appear to have the leaſt Concern about him; we know the* Whigs *will oblige us to puſh at his Deſtruction, if poſſible.*

But Madam, ſays I, the King hopes you won't go ſuch a Length.

Upon this ſhe drew a little Table which ſtood by her, nearer to me, and deſired me to ſit down; and with an Air of moſt obliging Freedom told me, That ſhe

ſhe was very glad to have an Opportunity to converſe with me upon this Affair, that indeed it was a tender Subject, and the Miniſters were afraid to ſpeak of it, even to the Queen herſelf; but that if I thought fit to communicate to her what I had in Charge upon that Head, ſhe would aſſure me ſhe would not be ſo ſhy of it.

I told her that I had no Inſtructions to propoſe, becauſe the King was now to receive his Meaſures from her Majeſty, being reſolv'd to act as the Queen ſhould direct.

She anſwered, that was putting hard upon *her Majeſty*, that the Queen could do nothing in his Favour, as things ſtood; but that it was hoped the King of *France* might find out ſome Way to act in his Behalf, if not now, at leaſt hereafter.

I told her, that muſt be according as they bound him, or left him free, by the Treaty; and therefore as the King was ſincerely willing to ſerve the *Chevalier* to his uttermoſt, as Occaſion ſhould preſent, ſo the Buſineſs for her Ladyſhip and I to negociate, was to ſee if poſſible, that the King might ſit looſe in that Article,

or at leaſt that no Obligation might be laid upon him, but what her Majeſty might hereafter acquit him of.

She told me I muſt not ask any thing of the Queen that her Majeſty could not grant.

I anſwered, That I would not willingly do ſo; but that I thought as all the Articles which concerned the Succeſſion to her Majeſty's Dominions, were properly a Capitulation with herſelf only; it was in her Majeſty of Right to limit the Extent of the Obligation, and to declare how far they ſhould or ſhould not be binding upon *France* after her Death.

She told me, ſhe was fully of my Mind, but that ſhe feared the Queen would not be brought to give any ſuch Explanation to that Article, or to ſign any ſuch Declaration under her Hand by any Means.

I told her, there appeared to me no other Way, than one of theſe two, either that the Articles which ſhould oblige the King to acknowledge the preſent Settlement ſhould be made ſo, as not to bind the

the King beyond her Majeſty's Perſon, and the Term of her Life, or that ſome ſecret Explanatory Article ſhould be entred into, to ſettle the Matter, ſo as that at her Majeſty's Deceaſe, *France* might be at Liberty to act as ſhould be convenient. She replied, theſe were difficult Points; however, ſhe would take a little Time to think of them, and that we might meet again in a Day or two upon them, which I ſubmitted to, and took my Leave; the Lady calling my Lord ----, who was *L'introducteur d' Ambaſſadeurs* for that Time, to go out with me.

About three Days after, my Lord ---- ſent to me again; and when I came to him, he told me the Lady deſired to ſpeak with me again upon the old Affair; ſo I went directly with him, and found her all alone, waiting on Purpoſe for me: We ſat down to diſcourſe with very little Ceremony. My L------ withdrawing as before, ſhe began very frankly with telling me, that ſhe knew I had but very little Time here, that the Affair we had to diſcourſe of was, in her Opinion, brought into a very narrow Compaſs; and that our Debate related to two Things, which ſhe ſummed up thus.

1. That a Treaty being abſolutely neceſſary to be ſet on Foot to reſtore Peace to the two Kingdoms, whoſe Intereſts were not now eſteem'd ſo remote, as they were formerly thought to be. It would follow, that for the Satisfaction of the People, and of the Allies abroad, the King ſhould be required in the Queen's Name, to abandon her Brother and his Intereſt, on Pretence of adhering to the Succeſſion as it was now eſtabliſhed.

2. That nevertheleſs this ſeeming to abandon the ſaid Intereſt, was to be ſo underſtood, that the King ſhould not be obliged, in Caſe of her Majeſty's Deceaſe, not to uſe his Endeavours for the placing the ſaid Prince on his Father's Throne, to which he had an undoubted Right.

We join'd immediately in granting that this was the Caſe; but how this Interpretation of the ſaid Clauſe of Abandoning the *Chevalier* ſhould be made Authentick, remain'd a Difficulty; I ſaid it muſt be referred to the Treaty, and that if poſſible the Clauſe for Abandoning ſhould be made ſo ſafe, that his Majeſty

jeſty might not be obliged to harder Terms of that kind than need muſt, and that the Plenipotentiaries ſhould be inſtructed accordingly.

I then ask'd her, if I ſhould have the Honour to hear how Things went on here, what might be the Reſolutions taken in that Caſe, and what Conditions might be granted, which I told her would be of great Uſe to me, becauſe the King had done me the Honour to name me to be one of his Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty.

She complemented me upon the Honour I had received, and ſaid ſome very fine Things to me upon that Head, which I received with a due Acknowledgment of her Goodneſs, and asked her if ſhe would do me the Honour, to give me Leave to communicate to her Ladyſhip what ſhould paſs on this Occaſion, and receive her Inſtructions. She told me, with all her Heart, ſhe ſhould be glad to correſpond, and that ſhe would give me a Key to write to her by, and that her Letters ſhould be incloſed to *Monſieur*, who belonged to the Embaſſy, and would not fail to be there.

But, Sir, ſaid ſhe, *there remains one Thing, which I think may be preſently diſcourſed of*; whereupon ſhe propoſed a Difficulty, which ſhe ſaid, I might, for ought ſhe knew, reſolve before-hand. *There is no Queſtion*, ſays ſhe, *but they will oblige the King to remove him out of* France, or as the uſual Term is, out of his Majeſty's Dominions; *now where*, ſaid ſhe, *will you ſend him?*

I anſwered, That I made no Queſtion but that ſhe had ſomething to offer upon that Head, becauſe ſhe propoſed the Queſtion: She proteſted ſhe had not, that ſhe had been muſing and revolving all the Countries in the World in her Thoughts, and could not think of a Place for him, where it was convenient he ſhould go, or where it would be tollerable to his Friends to have him reſide, ſhe did not doubt but the Plenipotentiaries would determine the Place.

I told her, I was ſurpriſed to hear her ſpeak of it in ſuch a Manner, that it was contrary to the Practice; that the Uſage of Nations and National Treaties left no Precedent for it; that if the King of *France* be obliged by the Treaty to aban-

abandon the *Chevalier*, it muſt be in ſome Form like this, (*viz.*) That he ſhall oblige him to depart his Dominions; that this was enough; that they had no Buſineſs to enquire whither he went; it was Hardſhip enough to bid him go; to do the other, was to take him Priſoner, and baniſh him to a particular Place, which was not in the Nature of the thing, it could neither be ask'd or granted; nor could I ſee any Reaſon to think that the Confederates would meddle with it.

She ſeem'd a little ſatisfied with what I had ſaid upon that Head, but offered to put it to me to name a Place where I would propoſe his Reſidence. I told her that I thought it was needleſs to propoſe, ſeeing Nature would dictate, and the *Chevalier* was not ſo void of Council, as not to reſolve to be as near *France* as poſſible he might be; that after the Peace was made, there would be ſeveral Countries, whither he might retreat, whoſe Princes would be ſufficiently in the Intereſt of *France* to ſecure his Perſon from Danger, and where he might have handſome Uſage.

She ſeem'd very anxious about it, and ſaid, ſhe would not have him too remote, for that there would certainly be a ſudden Occaſion for him in *England* one Time or other. I told her, I hoped ſo, and that I would be glad to contribute to his Service on any Occaſion. *We can only lay Foundations for it now*, ſays ſhe, *but without thoſe Foundations, and unleſs they are laid* now, *we ſhall be undone when the Juncture happens.*

She preſs'd me then to name any Place where he might reſide upon the Suppoſition of the King's being obliged by the Treaty to abandon him and remove him out of *France*. I told her, naming Places by way of Advice to him, I might do, but not as from the King: That the Elector of *Cologn*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the King of *Sweden* in his Dutchy of *Deux Ponts*; any of theſe might afford him a ſafe Retreat, if he found himſelf oblig'd to quit *France*, and that he was within three or four Days riding of *Paris*, if any Emergency required his Return to Court, and there was no doubt but that tho' the King would not be obliged to point thoſe Places out to him; yet if he was willing to go to any of them, the

King

King would uſe his Intereſt with thoſe Princes to receive and entertain him. I aſſured her, that the King my Maſter was ſo far from deſiring to put any Difficulties or Hardſhips upon him, that the Reaſon and End of my preſent Negociation was, that it might not be required of his Majeſty at the Treaty by the Queen's Agents; and that Things might be made as eaſy as poſſible, it being not doubted by the King that the *Chevalier* would ſooner or later be called by Heaven to the Poſſeſſion of his Legal Right to the *Britiſh* Crown, or that it was her Majeſty's Deſire he ſhould after her Deceaſe enjoy it in the beſt manner poſſible. She ſeemed very well pleaſed with my Diſcourſe, till I came to ſpeak of the Queen and of her Concern in this Affair, when ſhe entered into a very handſome Diſcourſe with me upon that Head.

She told me, that whatever I ſaid upon this Subject, ſhe took as if it came from the King's own Mouth, by whom, *ſhe ſaid*, ſhe knew I was intruſted in that Affair; and if I pleaſe to give equal Credit to what ſhe ſhould ſay to me, it would give the more Weight to what we ſhould conclude. *I bow'd*, and aſſured her, *That* whilſt I had the Honour

to

to wait on her Ladyſhip, I took myſelf to be at an Audience with the Queen; that I knew well enough this was a Caſe in which the Queen herſelf could not ſpeak with Openneſs to any one: That I took it to be the Unhappineſs of ſome preſent Circumſtances in the *Engliſh* Government, which made it ſo, and that I could not ſuppoſe it to be any Defect in the Diſpoſition of her Majeſty; that I hoped ſhe would believe the King of *France* knew how to diſtinguiſh right in the Caſe, and how to act ſuitable to ſuch Emergencies as came before him, that in the mean time it was my Buſineſs to believe every Word that came from her Mouth, and give the ſame Honour to it, as if ſpoken by the Queen herſelf.

She returned then to her firſt Deſign, and told me, ſhe would give me her Notion of Things; which was, That it was the preſent Unhappineſs of the Queen to poſſeſs the Throne of her Brother, and which ſhe had no other Claim to than what the Political Meaſures of the State had made Legal, and in a ſort neceſſary, which however, *ſhe ſaid*, ſhe believed gave her Majeſty often times ſecret Uneaſineſs: That this was not all the

the Misfortune, but that by the ſame Neceſſity of State, ſhe was obliged not only againſt her Diſpoſition, but even againſt her Principles, to further and promote the Continuance of the Uſurpation, not only beyond her own Life, but for ever. *That* I might be ſure under ſuch Circumſtances it would be an unexpreſſible Satisfaction to her Majeſty, to ſee herſelf delivered from the fatal Neceſſity of doing ſo much Wrong; and if it could be poſſible, with Safety to the Religion and Liberties of her Subjects, to have her Brother reſtored to his Right, at leaſt after her Deceaſe, if it could not be done before.

That it was true the Queen did not ſee thro' this, and it ſeem'd next to impoſſible, *The Rage and irreconcileable Averſion of the greateſt Part of the Common People to the Return of her Brother being grown to ſuch an Height*: Nay, ſhe ſaid, the Queen found it would be impoſſible to enter upon any Treaty of Peace, or ſo much as to let the People hear of putting an End to the War, without entring into the ſtrongeſt Engagements poſſible for the Confirming the Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*, *a Thing that I am ſure*, ſays ſhe, *is all our Averſions*; and we have no Retreat

treat but to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in Hopes of his ordering Things ſo at this Treaty, that he may be at Liberty to ſupport and aſſiſt in the Work whenever an Opportunity ſhould preſent; that to this End the Plenipotentiaries from hence, *Tho' there was no Communicating any Thing to them by way of Confidence*, ſhould be inſtructed not to inſiſt upon Things more than Neceſſity obliged; and *ſome Reſerves*, ſure ſays ſhe, *may be made to leave Room for Juſtice to take Place in Time to come.*

I heard her with great Attention, and taking hold of her laſt Words, I replied, That I found ſhe had clearer Thoughts in this Affair than all the Stateſmen in *Great Britain*; and that ſhe had ſaid more to the Purpoſe, in a few Words, than all the Men of State that I had met with, who all treated it with wary Expreſſions, remote and impracticable Notions, *double Entonders*, and Words which ſignified no more than this, that they were afraid to own what at the ſame time they would have us believe they deſired; and that they talk'd as if they neither aim'd at doing any Service to the Thing they propoſed, or had any Zeal but to their own Safety; that they

ſeem'd

ſeem'd to me to make no Difference between Converſing over a Glaſs of Wine with their Friends, and talking with a Man under Character and Commiſſion'd to treat; but that ſhe had brought the Thing into a Courſe of Negociation in a few Words, and we had now ſomething material to go upon.

I told her this was the very Thing the King deſired, (*viz.*) That the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries might be inſtructed to inſiſt upon Things no further than Neceſſity obliged; that nothing might be deſired of his Majeſty, which he could not grant; and that he might not be puſhed to do Things by the Queen's Brother, which did not become him as a King, and which would claſh with the profound Reſpect he had preſerv'd for his Majeſty's Perſon and Family.

In this Caſe, I told her there might be Room left for the King to diſengage himſelf hereafter from the ſeeming Obligation of that Part of the Treaty, and his Majeſty might be at Liberty to Act as Occaſion ſhould preſent: And here I made an Offer, that the Ambaſſador Extraordinary which the King ſhould ſend to *England* immediately after the Peace, ſhould have private Inſtructions

ſtructions to enter into a new Treaty to eſtabliſh the Intereſt of the *Chevalier*, and ſettle the Succeſſion of the Crown.

She replied, that this was a Step too far, and could not be entered upon now, that it was a Satisfaction to her to have diſcourſed ſo fully upon this Matter, that ſhe believed I knew her Mind, and that ſhe ſaw nothing more to be done, but to ſettle a Method for the managing this Part at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which was approaching: But that in the mean time ſhe deſired to go back to the Matters which we were diſcourſing of before, (*viz.*) the Reſidence of the *Chevalier*, and preſs'd me that I would tell her what Place he ſhould be ſent to, or moved to retreat to.

I preſently named *Lorrain*, as the moſt convenient Place for him to retreat to on many Accounts, and particularly, that it was the neareſt Neutral Place, being within two Days Journey of *Paris*; and as it was a Place where I knew the King had Intereſt ſufficient to oblige the Duke to give him a Reſidence, and to order him to be treated with a Reſpect ſuitable to his Dignity; but I added, that the King would by no Means direct in that Caſe,

Caſe, and deſired her Ladyſhip to obſerve, that I had not the leaſt Inſtruction to offer any Thing of that kind, but that I mentioned it meerly as the Reſult of my own Thoughts; and deſired, if it was approved of, that the *Chevalier* might have Intimation from hence to caſt his Eyes that Way; to which ſhe ſaid no more, than that ſhe would obſerve the Diſtinction I had made between what I ſaid with Direction, and what I ſaid of myſelf, and that ſhe would concern herſelf to have him acquainted with theſe Particulars; for that ſhe thought the Place would be very convenient on many Accounts.

She then told me, ſhe would be glad to conſider with me what Method might be taken for the Management of this Affair during the Treaty. I replied, that this depended wholly upon her own Directions, and that ſhe had no more to do, but to give me her Commands to lay every Thing before her as the Treaty went on, which I would eſteeem an Honour too great to allow me to omit any Opportunity of giving her Satisfaction; and if to this I might add my humble Petition, it ſhould be, that I might have the Honour to know from her, what her Ma-

Majeſty's Pleaſure was on any Article of Importance, which might lead us into any Difficulty, I would take Care that due Regard ſhould be had to all her Majeſty's Commands, and would endeavour to let her ſee how ſincerely the King of *France* was diſpoſed to give her Majeſty all poſſible Satisfaction, not in this Caſe only, but in every Thing elſe, in which her Intereſt or the Intereſt of her Kingdoms were concerned.

She received this with an Air of Satisfaction that eaſily diſcovered it was what ſhe herſelf deſired, telling me, that ſhe ſhould be very glad of ſuch a Correſpondence, as the only Way to bring the Thing in View to a rational Method of ſucceeding; and with this ſhe told me, ſhe ſhould be glad to ſee me again in two or three Days, when we would ſettle a Method for Correſponding, and deſired I would think of a Key for our Writing, that if any Letters ſhould be intercepted, they might not be decipher'd or underſtood.

I beg'd it might be the next Night, if poſſible, becauſe it was more than Time that I ſhould be in *France*; and that I underſtood her Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries

ties were already named, and would be at *Utrecht* before it could be poſſible for me to receive the King's Inſtructions, and to give his Majeſty an Account of my Negociation.

Accordingly I waited on her the next Evening without any Introductor, when ſhe received me with all the Civility, and in the moſt obliging Manner imaginable; ſhe told me ſhe had it in Charge to let me know how well I was with the Queen, and how agreeable it was to her Majeſty to hear that I was to be at *Utrecht:* And going to her Cabinet, ſhe called me to her, and preſented me in a Purſe of Crimſon Velvet, made up like a Caſe, and faſten'd with a Gold Claſp, her Majeſty's Picture ſet round with Diamonds. I ſtarted back a little, and offered to receive it on my Knee, which ſhe underſtood immediately, but would not ſuffer me: *For, Sir,* ſays ſhe, *I do not tell you that the Queen preſents you,* but *you may be aſſur'd BY IT,* ſays ſhe, *how ſatisfactory your Viſits here have been,* and how much I think it my Honour to hand this Preſent to you.

Several Things paſs'd at the ſame Time of Complement and Ceremony, rather

than anyThing of Moment: After which I took my Leave, wondering with myſelf that ſuch mean Things could be ſaid of this Lady, as ſome have made publick; and I muſt add, that ſhe ſeem'd to be as worthy to be the Favourite of a Queen, as any Woman I have converſed with in my Life.

I had now no Viſits to make, nor Audience of Leave to take, but of my Lord -----, my happy Correſpondent, which I did the next Evening, and the Morning following took Poſt for *Dover*, having a Paſs; and by that Means getting a Boat immediately, I landed at *Calais* the ſame Evening, and in three Days had the Honour to wait upon the King, and give him a full Account of all my Negociations; with which, but eſpecially this laſt, his Majeſty appear'd very well ſatisfied.

I had no Time to loſe; and having the Honour of his Majeſty's Commiſſion as Plenipotentiary, and having ordered my Equipage to be got ready before, and to be ſent away, I ſpeeded after, and came to *Utrecht* the 15th of *Jan.* New Stile, as did alſo the Marquis *de Huxelles* and the Abbot *Polignac*, who were

were the other Plenipotentiaries. What happened in the publick Negociations there, the Seſſions or Meeting of all the Miniſters of the Allies, I do not enter in theſe Minutes, having kept a perfect Journal of the ſame, for my particular Uſe, and which, at the King's Command, I put into his Majeſty's Hands after my Return, who has promiſed to return it to me again; but what was further done there and elſewhere, and particularly in *England* in this eminent Caſe of the *Chevalier*, will be more fully contain'd in the Letters which I have from time to time received from *England* from the Hands of this Lady, and ſome other Perſons of Quality by her Means, and in the Copies of my Anſwers to her, which I have ſealed up together, and left to the Uſe of Poſterity, and to which I refer.

I had not been long at *Utrecht* before I perceiv'd there was a Defect ſomewhere or other; for I could find no Effects of the Promiſes that had been made me, nor would the *Engliſh* Miniſters enter into any Converſation, *much leſs* Confidence upon the main Thing, which I expected: I mean as to the *Chevalier*.

I found the Miniſters of the Allies ſeem'd to puſh that Point rather than the *Britiſh*: And there was nothing to be heard of among them, but of obliging *France* in the ſolemneſt Manner to renounce him, drive him out of the Kingdom; and if they had any Room for it, out of the World too: And the *Britiſh* Miniſters ſeem'd not ſo much to act in Concert with them, as to ſtand in ſome Suſpenſe from the Vigour of the others in puſhing that Affair; ſo that we did not ſtick to ſay, they were aw'd by the *Dutch*.

This perplex'd me, becauſe I ſaw evidently, that if we had no Path mark'd out by the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries, we could not interpoſe in that Affair in the leaſt; our Buſineſs being indeed to take our Meaſures from them in every Thing; and to preſs the main Deſign, (*viz.*) *of making a Peace*; ſo that if they had no private Inſtructions in favour of the *Chevalier*, there was no Remedy, but he would be entirely loſt.

I ſet ſeveral Engines at work to ſound the *Engliſh* Miniſters in his Caſe, but found all perfectly dark; and that they were

were ſo far from having private Inſtructions, that they were ignorant even of the very Deſign of Sending any ſuch Inſtructions. I could not but perſwade myſelf, however, that after all the Aſſurances given me as above, there would ſomething or other happen which would ſet this Affair in a differing Light, and that if ſome ſecret Inſtructions were not yet ſent, they would be, and reſolv'd to wait a little longer; but finding ſtill nothing occur, and that the *Britiſh* Miniſters ſeem'd ready to concur with every ill-natur'd Thing that was offer'd, and rather ready to add to them, than to ſhew any Favour, I could not forbear writing a Letter on that Subject to my Female Miniſter of State, for as ſuch I treated her.

MADAM,

I *Do myſelf the Honour to make Uſe of the Liberty you were pleaſed to allow me* of Writing, *for which the Urgency of the Occaſion will make my Excuſe. I have been now three Weeks in this Place; and by all Intelligence I can receive, or Obſervations I can make, the private Inſtructions which your Ladyſhip was pleaſed to ſay would arrive here,* are not yet come. *I beg Leave, with the greateſt Humility,* to repreſent, *That there ſeems to be more than ordinary Neceſſity of ſomething of that Nature, the Inclination of the Miniſters here ſeeming either to be naturally againſt us, or influenced by the* Dutch *Miniſters; and I muſt obſerve alſo, the* Dutch Miniſters *hang upon this Part, as if it was their* Peculiar: *and that it was to be treated of with them; which, there being* Britiſh Miniſters *here, we cannot go into: Your Ladyſhip will know what Uſe to make of this Part;* 'tis our Opinion here, *that the* Dutch *are influenced by private Agents from* England, *to concern themſelves, as if there were Reaſons to doubt the Sincerity of the* Britiſh Miniſters, *in their acting againſt the* Chevalier, *which in Truth I fear there*

is

is not: Eſpecially, *unleſs they have the* PRIVATE INSTRUCTIONS, *which your Ladyſhip did me the Honour to give me Reaſon to expect, and upon which you may be ſatisfied the* King my Maſter *has entirely depended: Otherways perhaps it might not have been in our Inſtructions to have yielded to whatever the* Britiſh Miniſters *ſhould deſire, relating to the Intereſt of the* Chevalier, *as alſo for the Place of his Reſidence: If theſe* private Inſtructions *are not ſent in Time, we ſhall have no Reſource: ſaving the private Declaration of our Maſter's Senſe in the complying with thoſe Demands,* for Form Sake, &c. *as was concerted with Lord* ----- *But* the King *had much rather the Terms ſhould be ſoften'd in the Treaty itſelf: All which I lay at your Ladyſhip's Feet, and beg an effectual Anſwer may be returned by this Perſon, whom I ſend Expreſs, and to whom your Ladyſhip may pleaſe to give* entire Credit, *as far as concerns the ſafe Conveyance of whatever you ſhall do me the Honour to direct to,*

May it pleaſe your Ladyſhip,
Your Ladyſhip's moſt humble,
And moſt obedient Servant,

M.

While theſe Things were tranſacting, I found the Court at *St. Germains* was very uneaſy, and lay at the King Night and Day, to prevent the Blow, which they found was aim'd at them by the Treaty; and, if poſſible, to obtain ſome Temperament in Behalf of the Perſonal Reſidence of the *Chevalier*. The firſt Step taken, was by a private Direction of the *Queen Dowager*; intimating, that to avoid an Article being put into the Treaty, by which the King ſhould be obliged to cauſe the *Chevalier* to depart his Majeſty's Dominions, *He* the *Chevalier* ſhould take Occaſion to be out of the Kingdoms at the Time of the Treaty: Either for the Curioſity of Travelling, or on ſome Religious Pretence, for the Performing ſome *Vow*, or on the Ceremony of ſome Viſit, or upon ſuch Occaſion as ſhould be moſt ſuitable to the Circumſtance of the Treaty: Which Abſence might be guided in ſuch a Manner, and made more near or remote as the Temper of the Confederate Miniſters at *Utrecht* ſhould happen to be.

It took up ſome Debate, eſpecially among the Royal Family, about the Place whither

whither he ſhould go: Some propoſed *Swiſſerland*, others a Viſit to the *Court of Spain*; others a Pilgrimage to *Notre Dame de Mountferrat in Catalonia*; ſome one Way, ſome another: But the *King*, who had other Meaſures in his Eye, and no ſmall Expectations from another Negociation, which I had no Hand in, reſolv'd not to have him ſo far from Home, and named a Viſit to the Court of the *Duke of Lorrain*; which as it was near at Hand, and that Correſpondence might be not only eaſy but ſpeedy, his Majeſty took on him to direct, for the Reaſon I have juſt mentioned.

I no ſooner had an Account that the *Chevalier* was to make a kind of Halt in *Lorrain:* But apprehending it was his own Deſign, or the Deſign of Lord *M*--- his Adviſer; and foreſeeing, that if it was rumour'd, that he deſign'd to continue in *Lorrain*, the Miniſters of the Allies, if not the *Brittiſh* Miniſters themſelves, *if private Inſtructions did not arrive*, might perhaps demand to have him removed, or Conſent to oblige the King to add the Word *Lorrain* to that of the Dominions of *France*; and that he ſhould not be ſuffer'd to reſide or remain in the one or the other. I ſay, upon theſe Apprehenſions

prehenſions, I reſolved to mention it to the King in my next Letters; for I thought it far more diſhonourable to his Majeſty, that he ſhould be oblig'd to forbid another Prince to entertain him, than it was to conſent not to entertain him himſelf; beſides, it would be a great Diſhonour to the Duke of *Lorrain* to be ſo far impoſed upon. I therefore humbly repreſented theſe Things to his Majeſty, and gave my Reaſons, as the King always expected I ſhould, and had obliged me to do in ſuch Caſes.

But the King had other Views, and was made to expect Things from the *Engliſh* Court, which I plainly ſaw his Majeſty would be diſappointed in; and indeed I muſt ſay, it was the only Caſe in all theſe Affairs, in which his Majeſty was ever miſtaken: But Things were wrong repreſented to his Majeſty from *England*; *whether it was* that the Abbot *Gualtier* was not yet convinced of his Miſtake, or that he was reſolved to go on in a *La Gaſcogne*, as before, to promiſe Things which he was not able to bring to paſs; *or whether* ſome other Agent, to whoſe Management the King might have committed that Part after my coming away, had given Hopes of ſome

Step

Step to be taken that I knew not of; or whatever other Source theſe Meaſures ſprung from, I have not yet learn'd; but this I have ſince come to know, *viz.* That the King was very much incenſed at his being ſo much impoſed upon; and ſome People who had an Hand in it, have had Reaſon to know by Experience, that nothing in the World was more provoking to his Majeſty, than to have any of his Agents make him expect from them, what they had not good Reaſon to believe they were able to bring to paſs.

It ſeemed to me for ſome Time, That the King had Reaſon given him to expect, that the private Inſtructions in this Affair would come to his own Hand, either directly from *England*, or by Way of *St. Germains*; for in two or three Letters which I received from his Majeſty, written by himſelf, I was bid not to be uneaſy about the *private Inſtructions*, which were to be given to the *Britiſh Miniſters*; for that I ſhould hear ſpeedily of them, by a Way which I did not expect; and that perhaps they ſhould be ſent to me to put into the Hands of the ſaid Miniſters myſelf.

I muſt confeſs, that as this was ſurpriſing to me at firſt; ſo after I had receiv'd the following Letter from *the Lady*—— who I have ſo often mentioned, I began to fear his Majeſty had not been faithfully ſerv'd in *England*, tho' I did not know whether I ought to be ſo forward, as to ſuggeſt it, till I ſaw further; but the King was ſoon convinc'd another Way, of which I ſhall ſpeak preſently: But firſt to my Letter, as follows.

SIR,

SIR,

I AM not surpriſed at all at the News you ſend me, that no private Inſtructions *are ſent to our Miniſters at* Utrecht, *ſeeing your Court have thought fit to make it the Subject of a particular* Negociation *HERE; who their Agents are, I depend on it, I need not inform you; and who their Inſtrument here, I CANNOT inform you; but you may be aſſur'd it has put that, which took a good Train before, into a Condition not eaſily to be recover'd: You will judge the better what a Concern this is to the* CHEVALIER's *Friends here, by Reflecting how agreeable all you had done before of another kind, was to*

Yours, *&c.*

I had nothing to do, after I had received this Letter, but to reflect how unfortunate the Court of St. *Germains* was, and as I believe will ever be, in precipitating their own Affairs, and by their following the rash Counsels of those about them, who are impatient of their Exile, tho' the King had done all that could be desired of him to make it easy to them; for it presently occurred to me, that this was some private Negociation, which they had set on Foot to engage some of the Ministry in *England*, and perhaps *the Treasurer*; many of whom they vainly thought, would befriend them; whereas I saw clearly, when I was in *England*, that the Ministry there would give them Promises in Plenty; but not run the least Hazard for them to do any Thing effectual; and that if any Dependence was upon them, they would certainly be deceived, after the greatest Expectations; nay, and Engagements too.

But I was astonished when I found, even the King himself led into the Affair, and made to expect what I was satisfied the People in *England* could not so much as promise, or indeed speak of, but

but with the greateſt Caution, and at the greateſt Diſtance imaginable: For as I have obſerv'd already, the Whigs watch'd the Miniſtry ſo narrowly, and charg'd them ſo home, upon every Occaſion, whether juſtly or unjuſtly, with private Negociations for the *Chevalier*; which was ſo popular a Charge, and would ſo effectually have ruin'd them, as Things then ſtood, that *I knew* they durſt not entertain any Diſcourſe of it; nay they had ſo little Confidence amongſt themſelves, that in a Caſe of ſuch Conſequence, and ſo nice, they were jealous one of another, to the laſt Degree, and durſt not communicate their Thoughts to their beſt Friends.

As I had ſeveral Occaſions to know this perfectly well, ſo that I could not be deceiv'd; I was almoſt certain, that whoever it was that had taken ſo much Freedom with the King, had either impoſed upon him, or been greatly impoſed upon.

And yet it was the hardeſt Thing in the World, and the moſt dangerous of its kind, to ſuggeſt to the King, that his Majeſty was wrong: So I had no more to do, but to wait a while, and

ſay

ſay nothing, but what the King extorted from me: Every Letter I receiv'd had ſomething in it of this kind, bidding me expect every Poſt effectual Directions in the Affair of the *Chevalier*: But after ſome longer waiting, one of my Miſſives had this Expreſſion from the King, *viz. Either I am very ill ſerv'd in* England, *or ſomething will come effectually in a very little Time from thence.*

I thought now was a proper Seaſon to let his Majeſty know, that the Affair of the *Chevalier* ſuffered extremely for want of his Majeſty's Return from *England*; and begg'd his Majeſty would pleaſe to give me his Commands, in caſe what we expected from *England* did not arrive; and then encloſed the Letter above, without any Reflections or Remarks at all of my own.

The King, as I heard afterwards, was exceedingly concerned when he ſaw this Letter; and yet was loth to think it poſſible that he could be deceiv'd; However it caus'd his Majeſty to write in ſuch a Manner to thoſe Agents, *whoever they were*, in *England*, *that they were* forced to write back in plain Terms, the Miniſtry in *England* were Men of no

Honour;

Honour; that they had held them in Suſpence a long Time; and that now they not only did not come to the Point with them, but declined any Converſation on the Subject; only ſaid in general, that a certain Perſon would be ſent over to *Utrecht*, who ſhould Diſcourſe by Word of Mouth freely, and ſhould ſettle that Affair ſo as ſhould be agreeable to all Parties: They made long Apologies for their having been dup'd all along by thoſe who they had depended upon; and that it was none of their Fault.

The King did not ſay much, but he never forgave it them: And in his next Letter, his Majeſty very paſſionately complain'd of his Misfortune, in having employ'd People who did not underſtand their Buſineſs; and charged me to try if I could renew that Affair again; for, *as his Majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs it*, I had left Things in a Way of Succeſs, but theſe Men had deſtroyed it all again; and had now put it off to a remote Diſcourſe, of a Perſon to be ſent to *Utrecht*, they knew not when, or by whom.

As ſoon as I receiv'd this Letter, I could do no leſs than write the following to my Lady —— ——— to ſee if it was poſſible to reſtore the Negociation, what ſhe and I had left it, and to bring Things to the Channel they firſt run in: But the Succeſs did not anſwer the End of this Letter, any more than it had done of the King's Agents.

MADAM,

I Could not be more ſurpriſed at your Letter, than I am juſt now with an Expreſs from THE KING *my Maſter, complaining of the Meaſures taken by ſome of his Servants in your Court. The unhappy* CHEVALIER, *a Perſon fated to be undone, has often before now had the faireſt Proſpect of his Affairs clouded and eclipſed, but never ſo effectually as by the haſty Council of* St. Germains, *where they are never eaſy, but when they have Agents at Work to perplex their own Meaſures. I find,* Madam, *all you ſay is right, with this Addition, That the King has been ill ſerv'd in* England, *and reſents it accordingly: His Majeſty is now told, that a Perſon is to be ſent over to* UTRECHT *to negociate with me, and the*

the Britiſh *Miniſters, the Meaſures to be taken in the* CHEVALIER's *Affair. I confeſs, I neither reliſh nor underſtand it; and beg your Ladyſhip to let me ſo ſoon into the Secret of it, as you ſhall think proper for the Service of the* CHEVALIER, *and for* THE KING MY MASTER's *Satisfaction. I know if a proper Perſon were ſent hither, fully inſtructed, this Affair might be ſettled here with more Secrecy, and by Conſequence with more Safety than any other Way: But then I muſt add, that I ſhall deſpair of any Effect by it, unleſs your Ladyſhip would do me the Honour to let me know, that ſuch Perſon* COMES INSTRUCTED *from one no leſs intereſted in the* Queen, *and zealous for the* Chevalier *than yourſelf; and whoever brings Credentials from your Hand, I ſhall gladly enter into a Confidence with, in this Caſe; and then I ſhould have the Aſſurance to let the King my Maſter know, he might expect ſomething from the Negociations which ſhould follow.*

Utrecht, Feb. 12. 1711.

I am with the profoundeſt Reſpect,

May it pleaſe, *&c.*

I received not one Letter from the King after this for ſome Time, without an Enquiry at the Bottom, if any Perſon was yet arrived from *England*; or if I had any Thing yet to communicate from *England*: When at length a Gentleman did arrive, *viz.* a Kinſman of the *Engliſh* Treaſurer's; but as he brought no Credentials to me, and ſeem'd wholly taken up with Monſieur the Abbot; and particularly as I found, he had no Knowledge of the Source of my Intelligence, nor any Correſpondence the Way that I expected, I kept myſelf on the Reſerve, and had no Converſation with him that was of any Conſequence to the Thing in Hand: And yet if my correſponding Lady's next Letter had any right Notion or Gueſs at what had happen'd, this muſt be the Man which the King was made to expect would carry on this Matter. If he enter'd into any Meaſures with the Abbot about it, as was reported, it was to themſelves; for I never found any Effect from it, neither were the *Britiſh* Miniſters at all leſs Rigid than before, in their inſiſting upon the *Chevalier's* being removed out of *France*.

Theſe

Theſe Delays brought the King to the Neceſſity of admitting all thoſe Clauſes in the Treaty, which obliges him to acknowledge the Succeſſion of the Crown in the Houſe of *Hanover*, and to give no Diſturbance to the ſaid Succeſſion, when it ſhould take Place: All which Particulars are in the Treaty ſo worded by the Miniſters of the Allies, as if they apprehended that indeed Words could not ſufficiently expreſs their Meaning; for in the Time of this fooliſh Management, much was loſt; and particularly, tho' it was not till the Fifth of *March* that the Specifick Demands of the Allies, *as they were then called*, were delivered in; yet the *Britiſh* Miniſters having, *as I ſaid*, received no Inſtructions of what our Court expected. I found theſe Demands drawn up in the rougheſt and moſt diſobliging Manner poſſible, eſpecially conſidering what I had Reaſon to expect: But of this more anon; in the mean Time, when the following Letter came, I ſaw evidently what we were to expect, and ſo reſolv'd upon other Meaſures.

SIR,

WERE it not that I am exceedingly concern'd for the Miſcarriages of an Affair, which I had ſo much Hope from, and which I thought was, by your good Management, entirely out of Danger, I ſhould be very merry with the Court of St. Germains, *on Account of their new ſecret Negociations here. I take it for granted, that they are fallen into the Hands of my Lord T---; he loves a Secret, and is famous for making Intricacies, where there is a ſterility of Intrigues; and no leſs renown'd for cauſing every thing of ſuch a Nature to miſcarry; if their Aſſurances are from him, I doubt not he values himſelf upon having deceiv'd them; and if the Perſon to be ſent to* Utrecht *comes from him, I dare promiſe you that when he comes there, he wants his Inſtructions. In the mean time aſſure yourſelf, the People to whom all this ought to have been communicated, have not ſo much as known that a Word has been ſpoken of it; and are wondering much that they are not applied to. 'Tis true, the T--- dares not mention*

it

it now, becauſe, as he knows, he would not be truſted in ſuch an Affair; ſo ſome here, who owe him an ill Turn, would not fail to pay the Debt, and turn ſuch a ſecret Negociation to his entire Ruin.

If he is not your Man, it muſt be my Lord ----; he has more Probity; but I cannot ſee upon what Foot he could make ſuch Promiſes, as your laſt implies; for I am perſuaded he never mentioned it to the QUEEN: *The Truth is, thoſe Things are of ſo nice a Nature, that, as you may remember, I told you when you were here, there is not any two among our Miniſtry, that dare make a Confidence about it, nor any one of them that would venture to mention it to the* QUEEN: *And I undertake to aſſure you, that whatever your Agents have informed the King your Maſter of, or given his Majeſty Reaſon to expect, 'tis all in the Clouds here, and the* QUEEN *has not ſo much as heard a Word of it; and this makes me ſuppoſe their great Secret remains with my Lord T----, where Secrets often ſleep and die.*

We know nothing leſs or more of a Perſon to be ſent to Utrecht, *neither are there any private Inſtructions can be ſent with any Authority: And by theſe Omiſſions I foreſee the Thing will miſcarry: Who are to be blam'd, you beſt know. But depend upon it, this Matter can never be brought to any Head, but by the Method you and I Concerted; they who have taken other Steps, give me Reaſon to know their Intelligence is bad, and that they do not miſcarry for want of Ignorance: If any Thing occurs, favour me with a Line as uſual.*

St. James's, March 2, 1711-12. I am, *&c.*

As I have obſerv'd, the Fifth of *March* New Stile, *and before I received the above Letter*, the *Britiſh* Miniſters deliver'd in their *Specifick Demands*; and if I loſt all Patience at the rigid Demands that appear'd in them relating to the *Chevalier*, it was, becauſe I had, as I thought, laid ſo good a Plan for the preventing it: However, to give Vent to my Concern, and let them know in *England* what was done, the following Letter was hurried away a little faſter than I uſed to do Things of ſuch Conſequence.

MADAM,

MADAM,

YOUR Ladyſhip will have the Satisfaction by the Papers I incloſe you, containing the Specifick Demands *of the* Britiſh *Miniſters, to ſee to how little Purpoſe I have given you all this Trouble, and how eaſily the Weakneſs of Friends may ſerve the Enemy as well, nay perhaps better than the Treachery of Perſons intruſted: I know it would have been much eaſier to have prevented this Blow, than it is to retrieve it: Nor can I expect that any Inſtructions can now be given to the Miniſters to recede, which would not alarm your Enemies, and ours alſo: I have the Satisfaction, however, to have diſcharged punctually the Part I had in this Affair, and the Honour of your knowing where the Fault lies. It is my Felicity that this was not the Eſſential Part of my Commiſſion in* England, *but rather what by Accident offer'd. Mean time,* Madam, *I am infinitely bound to your Ladyſhip for the Honour done me in* England, *and muſt leave the* Chevalier *to his bad Fortune.*

Utrecht, Ma. 7, 1712. I am.

The

The Truth is, after I had conſider'd a while, the ill Turn Things took upon this Occaſion, I pleaſed myſelf that I had no Part in the firſt Tranſaction, but what was, as I noted, by a kind of Fortuitous Appendix to my principal Buſineſs; and that I had only the Misfortune to ſee *the King* my Maſter, diſappointed by other Hands, without there being any Room to reflect upon my own Conduct.

Indeed the King was ſo irritated at this fooliſh Part, that he wanted but little of reſenting it in ſuch a Manner, as would have been to the great Misfortune of the *Chevalier*, and of all his Friends; for, *in a word*, it was all owing to the Impatience and Jealouſy of the Court of *St. Germains*; who, tho' the King had Agents of his own in *London*, who perhaps did their utmoſt, yet they of *St. Germains* being uneaſy, could not refrain ſending a ſecret Embaſſy themſelves; this, *it ſeems*, was a *Scotſman*, who pretended great Intereſt with a *Scots Lord*, who was an Officer of State in *England*; but either the Meſſenger fail'd in the Intereſt he pretended to have, or the *Scots* Nobleman fail'd in what he promiſed to do for him; ſeeing the Sum

of

of his Negociation was briefly *this*, that after a long Stay, he perform'd only theſe two notable Exploits, *viz.* (1.) That he ſpent a great deal of their Money. And (2.) That he ruin'd and expoſed the Buſineſs which he was intruſted with; and, at laſt, came away with nothing but an empty Promiſe from the ſaid *Scots Lord*, That a Perſon ſhould be ſent over to *Utrecht*, to negociate that Matter with the *French* and *Britiſh* Miniſters together: A Propoſal, which was in itſelf at that time very unlikely; and which, it ſeems, was never performed: For, as I afterwards underſtood, the Perſon who I ſay did come to *Utrecht*, was not the Perſon expected, nor was he intruſted with any Thing of that Matter.

It was after I had come to an Eclariſſment in this Matter, that in a Poſtſcript to a long Letter to Madam, I took the Liberty to uſe the following Expreſſions.

'*P. S.* I could not diſpatch this Let-
'ter without acquainting your Lady-
'ſhip, that both you and I have been
'miſtaken in our Notions, both of who
'has been employ'd from *France*, and
'who intruſted in *England* with this Af-
'fair;

‘ fair; ſeeing a *Scotſman* from *St. Ger-*
‘ *mains*, and a *Scotſman* in your Court,
‘ have been the Agents to deceive one
‘ another, and to abuſe their Maſters:
‘ As to the enquiring who the Secret has
‘ remain'd with, they confeſs now at
‘ *St. Germains*, that it has really remain-
‘ ed with no Body, for ſo ill a Choice
‘ did they make of their Agent, that
‘ he has not only expoſed his Errand but
‘ his Employer: And our People in *Lon-*
‘ *don* are very free to ſend Word hither,
‘ how ill he has acquitted himſelf; tho'
‘ by the Way I muſt obſerve, that this
‘ was not done till after they had been
‘ amuſed with the Perſuaſions of this Per-
‘ ſon, to believe Things were in a good
‘ Train, when they were indeed in Hands
‘ who intended nothing leſs, than to per-
‘ form what was propoſed.

I AM.

This Lady was exceedingly provok'd when ſhe underſtood theſe Particulars, and expoſtulated with me to know the Name of this *Scotſman*; but I was not at that Time able to inform her; nor, if I had, was I reſolv'd to do it: For perhaps the Man being ſtill in *London*, it might have expoſed him, either to receive ſome Miſchief, or perhaps to *do*

ſome,

ſome, by expoſing the Perſons who he had correſponded with, as well as the Perſons who imploy'd him.

She was importunate alſo to know what I meant by a *Scots* Lord, and it lay wholly in her Thoughts between the Duke of *Hamilton*, who was named to be Ambaſſador to our Court when the Peace ſhould be concluded, or the Earl of *Mar*, who was then, or ſoon after, Secretary of State; and perhaps ſhe was not miſtaken, as to the Lord T— I found they had no Confidence in him at *St. Germains*, nor much any where elſe; and I was a little merry with her upon that Head, when I told her ſhe had happen'd to throw away ſome Satyr upon my Lord Treaſurer, but that indeed I took it for a Satyr upon us in *France*, that ſhe ſhould charge us with knowing him ſo ill, as to truſt him in an Affair of that Nature, and much more after ſuch a Character of his Sincerity, as ſhe had given me upon all Occaſions.

Our Letters of this kind were too many, and yet of too little import to take up Room here. It remain'd now, that ſeeing the great Thing was over, which we had aim'd at, and that Diſappoint-

appointment could not be retrieved; that we ſhould try to give it as good an Iſſue as we could; and even this could but ill be done by ſo remote and tedious a Negociation: However, Neceſſity obliged me, firſt to ſolicit her Ladyſhip, that no Difficulty might be made, or Particulars entred upon, concerning the Place whither the *Chevalier* ſhould withdraw, or where he ſhould reſide.

She ſent me Word, it was in her Opinion a needleſs Enquiry, ſince as the *Chevalier* was already gone out of *France*, the King could not be deſired to promiſe any Thing, but to keep him out; and that being a free Perſon, he might go to what Part of the World he would, and it could not be asked of the King to oblige other Princes not to entertain him.

I own'd to her, that it was reaſonable indeed to argue ſo, but that as I had ſecret Intelligence of a contrary Deſign, it was not improper for me to furniſh myſelf with Strength to prevent it: I repreſented how diſhonourable it would be to the King to have any ſuch Conditions impoſed upon him, or ſo much as offer'd to him; that it was enough to engage

gage him to abandon a Prince fled to his Court, which was always the *Aſylum* of baniſh'd Princes, and the Refuge of the unfortunate; and that if he ſhould be offer'd any Thing farther, it would be neither more nor leſs than breaking off the Treaty, which we ſhould be all very ſorry for: But it was impoſſible, that the King could bear Things ſo unworthy of himſelf as this would be: And I again excuſed my being impatient on that Head, becauſe, as I had hinted to her before, I was aſſured there was ſomething of that Nature upon the Anvil among the Allies; and we hoped her *Majeſty* would not permit them to have it in their Power a ſecond Time to break off a Treaty, which was ſo much for the Good of all *Europe*, by inſiſting upon Things diſhonourable and impracticable for the King to grant.

I was very long and particular in my inſiſting on this Head, which I did the rather, becauſe I was really allarm'd with an Intimation I had, that the Allies would inſiſt, that the King ſhould confine the *Chevalier*, and give him a kind of honourable Priſon for Life, which would have been a Thing ſo horrible in its Nature, and which the King would

would have receiv'd the Propoſal of with ſo much Diſdain, that it would have been the moſt certain Way to have not only broken off the Treaty, but to have made the Breach between the King and Her Britannick Majeſty more irreconcilable than ever; and to have the War been more *picquant* againſt *Britain*, than againſt any other Part of the World: All which I fail'd not to repreſent in very preſſing Terms, and ſuch as, I thought, muſt have extorted a ſerious Reply; and therefore I was ſurpriſed in an extraordinary Manner, when in her next Letter, wherein ſhe was very long, and even abuſive in her Reflections upon ſome of the great Men in their own Court: She contented herſelf with ſaying to all my Importunities above, that ſhe could not think I had any Reaſon to be anxious upon that Affair at all.

It is true that either her Intelligence was much better than mine in that Part, or that, though ſhe was not willing to let me know any Thing of her Meaſures, yet that ſhe did take effectual Care to put a ſtop to what I had been told was doing, for I heard no more of it, neither was any Thing of that kind offered at the

the Treaty; tho' in Spight of all my Endeavours or her's either; the *Britiſh* Miniſters came without any Heſitation into every Propoſal to make the *Chevalier*'s Caſe deſperate, that any of the Allies could make them, and ſeem'd to value themſelves upon their Forwardneſs to do ſo: And thus the Articles came to be loaded, as we now find them, with ſo many impertinent Repetitions and Circumlocutions, *as we took them to be*, for the binding the King never to eſpouſe the Intereſt of the *Chevalier*, or concern himſelf in his Behalf.

There remain'd yet another Negociation to be ſet on Foot, which made me not reſent the Uſage above-mentioned, ſo much, as otherwiſe I might perhaps have done, for I was really diſguſted to the laſt Degree in my Thoughts; and this was, That an Explanation might be privately agreed upon, for the declaring in what Manner all theſe Conceſſions, which the King was thus to make, ſhould be underſtood: And this was a Matter of ſuch Moment to us, and which we found would be with ſo much leſs Difficulty paſt with ſome People in *England*, that I thought it no deſpiſable Expedient, ſeeing if thoſe De-

clarations were made by the King, and we could get them accepted and ſigned as a ſeparate Article in *England*, his Majeſty would then have the greater Freedom to act as he ſhould ſee Cauſe in Time to come.

I had drawn up the ſeparate Article in as brief and conciſe a Manner as I could, and tranſmitted one Copy of it to the King, and another Copy to *England*, in Terms like theſe, *viz.*

'That it is agreed, and his moſt *Chriſtian Majeſty* hereby declares, on his own Part, That ſo much of the ſaid Article as obliges him not to give any Aſſiſtance, *&c.* to the *Chevalier de St. George*, and his Adherents, ſhall be underſtood; and is hereby declared on both Sides, to mean only for and during the Life of her preſent Majeſty, or any Heirs of her Body, and no longer: And this Declaration and Explanation being made, and ſigned the ſame Day with the ſaid Treaty, ſhall be accepted as Part of the ſame to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if it were incorporated therein.